

Warrior Gods and the Song-Yuan Transformation of Daoism

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on Daoist hagiography studies and is going to be conducted within the context of the historical transformation of Daoism and its relations with popular religion from the Song to the Qing dynasty. Marshal Wen, a Daoist god whose full name is Wen Qiong, is the focus of the research. The hagiography of Marshal Wen exists in a variety of versions, providing us with different perspectives on the formation of his cult as well as the historical background. Belonging to a category of Daoist gods that emerges strongly from the Song on, namely, local gods, who are later adopted into Daoism, Wen Qiong is going to be studied together with some other Daoist gods who bear the similar evolution such as Deng Bowen. Besides, because of his identity as a Daoist martial deity, Marshal Wen will be examined within the context of other Daoist martial deities such as the Black Killer, the Dark Emperor. Comparisons among these martial deities will shed light on the prominence of warrior gods within Daoism. The textual analysis of Huang Gongjin's account of Marshal Wen is going to address a series questions related to Marshal Wen's origin, the development of certain Daoist movements, and the relations amongn Daoism, Buddhism, and popular religion.

論文提要

作為道教四大元帥之一，溫元帥一直以來是祈禳道場中赫赫有名之神將。溫瓊信仰自宋元形成以來，經歷明清發展，在江浙地區蔚然成風。溫元帥形象亦早已融入各類文本，成為各色碑文、小說等之敘述主題。從早期天師道經典中被厭棄之“井鬼”到現如今溫州“送船”儀式中被奉為驅瘟逐疫之神祇，溫瓊元帥之成長史恰是宋元明道教發展史中不可或缺的一部分。本文試圖從道教“聖傳”著手，以道教在宋元明之發展狀況為背景，挖掘其與其他道教武神，如黑煞將軍、玄帝、鄧伯溫等之異同，並試以黃公瑾所撰之《地祇上將溫太保傳》為主要分析對象，溯尋溫元帥神格之源頭，爬梳道教與民間崇拜乃至佛教密宗之微妙關係。

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Introduction

This research focuses on Daoist hagiography studies and is going to be conducted within the context of the historical transformation of Daoism and its relations with popular religion during the Song and Yuan dynasties. The protagonist of the hagiographies to be discussed is a group of Daoist warrior gods who came to take over the prominent position in exorcistic liturgies from the Song on, with divine titles of “General”, “Marshal”, etc. Marshal Wen, a Daoist warrior god whose full name is Wen Qiong 溫瓊, is the focus of the research. He is an important Daoist deity, not only in the Wenzhou 溫州 region, but also as one of ten Taibao 太保 in Eastern Peak temples 東嶽廟 and as one of the marshals employed on Daoist altars.¹ The hagiography of Marshal Wen exists in a variety of versions, providing us with different perspectives on the formation of his cult as well as the historical background. Also, Wen Qiong belongs to a category of Daoist gods that emerges strongly from the Song on, namely, local gods, who are adopted into Daoism. Other examples are Xu Xun 許遜,² Wenchang 文昌,³ Huaguang 華光 (Wutong 五通),⁴ and the Three Perfected of Huagaishan 華蓋山真君,⁵ which have been the subject of recent studies, encouraging us to think that the time has come for a more systematic study of Wen Qiong than has been hitherto attempted. In addition, the recent thesis of Mark Meulenbeld,⁶ which places these gods in the context of the development of thunder liturgies, and links these liturgies in turn to late-Ming novels, opens important new perspectives on the relationship between Daoist hagiography and literature. If, among the various possibilities, we have opted for Wen Qiong, it is because we feel his case now calls for another study to be widened and deepened with insight into Wen’s performances within the shifting paradigm of Daoism during the Song-Yuan transition.

¹ John Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history* (New York, 1987) p. 44

² Li Fengmao, *Xu Xun yu Sa Shoujian: Deng Zhimo daojiao xiaoshuo yanjiu* (Taibei, 1997)

³ Terry F. Kleeman, *A God's own tale : the Book of transformations of Wenchang, the Divine Lord of Zitong* (Albany, 1994)

⁴ Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, “The Cult of the Wu-t'ung/Wu-hsien in History and Fiction: The Religious Roots of the Journey to the South”; Richard von Glan, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000-1700*. (Berkeley, 1996)

⁵ Robert Hymes, *Way and byway : Taoism, local religion, and models of divinity in Sung and modern China* (Berkeley, 2002)

⁶ Mark Meulenbeld, *Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature* (PhD dissertation, 2007)

John Lagerwey first contributed a chapter on Daoism and popular religion in his book *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history*,⁷ through the analysis of the Daoist hagiography of Wen Qiong. His argument focuses on the differences between a Daoist “angel”—a subaltern Daoist god—and a medium, and how Wen Qiong’s role as a Daoist angel was gradually achieved. According to Lagerwey, there are “three distinct classes of response to the basic epistemological problem posed by the ontological fact of the existence of images which mediate our knowledge”: the responses of the medium, the “masters of transformation” or masters of methods, and the tao-shih, or “officer of the Tao.”⁸ The crucial point that eventually differentiated Wen from the mediums is self-possession, which means that he controlled himself when communicating with gods, whereas the mediums were other-possessed or, to be more specific, god-possessed during the communication. System is an important concept advanced by Lagerwey to provide not only the purpose but also a whole context for Wen’s activities. By joining the System, a local deity could be accepted into the Daoist orthodox bureaucracy. As stated in the chapter, “the secret of the System is its capacity to find ways and means of saving people, to convert the raw material of revelation into a method. Thanks to the System, the Taoist is able to identify the essence-the spirit-of the medium’s gibberish (if his god communicates orally), or to decipher the ‘divine tracks (if the spirit works through the medium’s hand), and then to put this unique spirit to work by situating it properly within the System’.”⁹ Meanwhile, thanks to the space left in its system for revelations—often related to or derived from local gods and converted into *fashi* methods, Daoism is thus able to negotiate a rapprochement with local religion and its cults. The formation of the System to a certain extent has provided a possible solution to the tension between Daoism and popular religion: Daoism supervises the popular religion. This point has been constantly emphasized through the storytelling of the hagiography of Marshal Wen which is going to be discussed in the second chapter.

In her work *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*, Judith M. Boltz briefly introduced the generation of the cult of Wen Qiong from his Daoist hagiography and summarized in a few lines the connections between the image of Wen Qiong and many storytelling traditions for example in the *Journey to the West* 西遊記 (*Xiyou ji*) and *Water Margin*

⁷ Lagerwey, 1987, pp.241-52

⁸ Ibid, pp. 251-52

⁹ Ibid, p. 249

水滸傳 (*Shuihu zhuan*).¹⁰ This is just a brief introduction and doesn't include many critical analyses. But she at least glanced at the relation between the religious documents and the origin of fiction in the Ming and Qing dynasties to induce potential discussions. This has now been worked out in much more precise fashion by Meulenbeld, who brought forward the important concept of "sublimation" to name the trajectory from demon to god. He proved to some extent the feasibility of demons serving as the ontological basis for heavenly gods. Comparisons between the ritual agents and language of thunder liturgies, with a standard set of recurring features of the late Ming vernacular fictions further pointed out the existence of the antecedents of the protagonists in the late Ming *xiaoshuo* to be found in some Daoist exorcist liturgies such as "Thunder Rites".¹¹

So far, among the current scholars who have touched on Wen Qiong, Paul Katz is the most prolific, with a book¹² and several articles focusing on Wen's hagiographies produced by different social classes.

The book published by Katz on Marshal Wen contains a comprehensive study of the cult. Earlier than this book, Katz published an article entitled "Wen Ch'ung-the God of Many Faces" (1990), which could be considered as the prelude to his book. In the article, he discussed the cult of Marshal Wen through several different versions of texts. These texts were written by or derived from different groups of people: Daoist priests, Confucian scholars, and commoners. He developed comparisons among the hagiography from the *Daoist Canon* 道藏, a stele inscription by a scholar, a hagiography in the *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 and a folktale in the *Journey to the North* 北遊記 (*Beiyou ji*). In these texts, the image of Wen is portrayed as a plague god with diverse identities. For example, in the *Daoist Canon*, Wen is described as a common person with an extraordinary physique who worshiped the Way of Orthodoxy (*zhengdao*). By acting like an exorcist against plague, he saved the masses but refused to accept the local worship and blood offerings which were regarded as heterodox (*yinsi*) by Daoism. He then successfully joined the hierarchy of the Daoist pantheon by subscribing to ortho-

¹⁰ Judith M. Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1987) p. 99

¹¹ Mark Meulenbeld, "Civilized demons: Ming Thunder Gods from ritual to literature", PhD Dissertation (Princeton, 2007)

¹² Paul Katz, *Demon hordes and burning boats the cult of Marshal Wen in late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany, 1995)

doxy and orthopraxy. However, according to the stele inscription composed by Song Lian 宋濂, a famous Confucian¹³ scholar of the late Yuan and early Ming, Wen was an erudite scholar in his early age who “mastered the Five Classics (Wujing 五經), various ancient writings (baishi 百氏), as well as the teachings of both Buddhist and Taoist masters (laoshi jia yan 老釋家言)”,¹⁴ but he failed in the national examination at the age of 26. Yet in the folktale *Beiyong ji* the core of Wen's achievement is neither the pursuit of orthodoxy nor the mastery of Confucianism. His virtue is said to be his self-sacrifice to save others. Due to his heroic action in saving the villagers by swallowing the poison sent by the Jade Emperor to destroy the village, the Jade Emperor was moved and accepted Wen as a Daoist god, in charge of plague demons.

Different faces of Wen Qiong are depicted in these texts. According to Katz, “for Taoist priests, he represented a loyal soldier who knew his place in the heavenly hierarchy and could be called upon to smash heterodox forces. For the literati, he was a dedicated young Confucian whose desire to serve the people in both this life and the next proved to be an inspiring ideal. For the rest of his believers, he was an ordinary man who gave his life so that others might survive.”¹⁵ In conclusion, he brought forward two concepts for the sake of understanding the cult of Marshal Wen from a more theoretical perspective: cogeneration and reverberation. By the former he means that more than one hagiography of a deity circulated at the same time as his/her cult arose. In other words, the different versions of Wen's hagiography did not necessarily emerge one after the other but appeared and circulated at much the same time among different groups of believers. By the latter he means that the interactions among different groups of believers might shape the details of different versions of the hagiography of a deity. He suggests the two concepts be used as principles for analyzing the case of Marshal Wen. However, since the hagiography of Wen from the *Daoist Canon* is supposed to a production of the early Yuan,¹⁶ the stele inscription of the late Yuan,¹⁷ and the *Beiyong ji* of the Ming dynasty,¹⁸ no evidence could be found

¹³ In latter discussion, we will find out that Song was once a recluse before he became an official of the Ming court and developed a close relationship with both Daoist and Buddhist practitioners.

¹⁴ translated by Katz in “Wen Ch'iuŋ-the God of Many Faces” (1990), *Han-hsieh yen-chiu/Chinese Studies* 8, pp. 194-95

¹⁵ Katz, 1990, p. 216

¹⁶ Ibid, p.185

¹⁷ Ibid, p.192

¹⁸ Ibid, p.205

to support the “cogeneration” of Marshal Wen’s hagiographic texts. Besides, no elaboration on the “reverberation” is found in his later research on Marshal Wen, neither does it proved in my study: the stele inscription and the paragraph from the *Beiyong ji* are much shorter than the *Daoist Canon* version and are aimed at distinctive audiences. It is true that they have provided interesting variants on Wen Qiong’s story, but speaking of them and the *Daoist Canon* version in the same breath might not be an effective comparison.

In his book following the article in 1995, Katz presented us with a more thorough study of Marshal Wen’s cult in terms of the historical background of Zhejiang, the local reactions toward plague, the generation of Wen’s cult and the spread of the cult within and beyond Zhejiang. In addition, the closing part of the book is devoted into describing the festival of Marshal Wen, thus showing a vivid picture of the practical side of the cult. Compared with his previous study of Marshal Wen, he in this book added much more information, like the geographical knowledge of the region of Zhejiang, and also clarifies his views on religion. For example, he gave a definition of the term “cult”: “A body of men and women who worship a deity and give of their time, energy, and wealth in order for the worship of this deity to continue and thrive.”¹⁹ As developing the topic into a lengthy book, he set out his primary aim “to bridge the long-standing gap between Taoist studies and social history.”²⁰

The latest research by Katz on Marshal Wen is his article “Daoism and Local Cults: a Case Study of the Cult of Marshal Wen” in which he shed light upon the interactions between Daoism and local cults. This time, he conducted a thorough analysis of the texts from his previous studies to discover a clue from which the integration and conflict between Daoism and popular region to be uncovered. By and large, Marshal Wen was worshiped by three kinds of believers namely the Daoist priest (*daoshi*), Daoist and local ritual masters (*fashi* or *faguan*), and lay believers in the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian.²¹ As he concluded, the emphasis of the cult of Marshal Wen is the protection of orthodoxy and the stories in different versions of the hagiography record the process of Wen ultimately achieving Orthodoxy and Orthopraxy by refusing local worship and blood offerings. The concern reflects the desire of the Daoists “to dis-

¹⁹ Katz, 1995, p. 3

²⁰ Ibid, p. 6

²¹ Paul Katz, “Daoism and Local Cults: a Case Study of the Cult of Marshal Wen”, *Heterodoxy in late Imperial China* (Honolulu, 2004), eds, by Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek, p. 172

tinguish themselves from and establish their religious superiority over local cults.”²² In other words, it reflects the “Daoist identity crisis.”²³ Of native origin, Daoism can never be thoroughly separated from local religion. At the same time, it strives for state recognition and support, meaning that it has to distinguish itself from popular religion symbolized by blood sacrifices. On the one hand, Daoism’s claim to liturgical authority depended in part on its ability to absorb popular deities (like Marshal Wen) into the Daoist heavenly bureaucracy while on the other hand it declared itself against any form of contamination by “heterodox” practices.²⁴ Such a dilemma makes the delicate relationship between Daoism and local cults even more complex and, through the hagiographies of Marshal Wen, the changes in their relationship can be detected.

Furthermore, he concentrated on the way orthodoxy and orthopraxy are achieved, as well as on how Wen Qiong was finally accepted into the Daoist orthodox system. What is more, he concurred with “Laurence Thompson’s argument that official and popular religion represent two levels of orthodoxy.”²⁵ However, what I found insufficient in his argument is that he only discussed one way of achieving Orthodoxy, that is, Wen Qiong’s own struggle towards the Way of Orthodoxy. I guess that, the narratives of Wen suggest not only the way Wen attained admission to the Way of Orthodoxy but also the Daoist orthodox system actively accepting Wen into it.

During the following writing, two major problems are going to be addressed. First of all, in spite of the excellent pioneering work by Lagerwey and Katz, the origin of Wen’s cult remains a mystery. Although Katz’s hypothesis on the origin of the cult of Marshal Wen provided us with the possibility that Daoism and popular religion were influenced by Tantric Buddhism in that the iconology of Wen was analogical to that of Ātavaka, a god in Tantric Buddhism,²⁶ he did not go further to analyze the process by which the influence took place. In order to find out the truth, we need to resort to the study of the relationship between Daoism and Tantric Buddhism during the period from the Song on. Among the works that point the way are Davis²⁷ and Cedzich, Davis

²² Ibid, p. 174

²³ Ibid, p. 175

²⁴ Ibid, p. 175

²⁵ Ibid, p. 197

²⁶ Katz, 1995, p. 79

²⁷ Edward L. Davis, *Society and the supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu, 2001)

for the overall impact of Tantrism, Cedzich for her case study of the interaction of Tantric Buddhism in Daoism in the hagiography and iconography of Huaguang.

Second, since the iconology at all points indicates Wen's divine origin as a demon, then how did he manage to become a deity from a demon? This may have many to do with the overall transformations of Daoist traditions during the Song and Yuan transition. Probably a local deity, or even a demon, Wen's promotion into the Daoist divine hierarchy is suggestive of a delicate relationship between Daoism and popular religion as friend and enemy as coexistence. Katz treated the transformation from a demon to a deity in general terms, as a common process in Chinese popular religion. But the work of Meulenbeld suggests that we can be more specific than this, by placing the evolution in the context of Daoist thunder liturgy. Moreover, new evidence found in the *Nüqing Statutes of Demons* 女青鬼律 (*Nüqing Guilü*), a collection of early Heavenly Master Daoism, will be introduced to further support Wen's pre-existence as a demon while Mollier's research on demonology of medieval Daoism provides epistemological bases for the possible solutions of transforming demons into deities.

Still, there are many other works from which I would like to borrow bricks to build the structure of my own thesis, such as the study of Edward Davis on Daoist Ritual Master and Florian C. Reiter's research into Thunder Rites (*leifa* 雷法).

Today, thunder is understood as a natural phenomenon, yet in ancient times, thunder and lightning were believed to be the expressions of divine intervention from heaven. People regarded thunder as punishment of those whose past crimes had gone unavenged. Besides, thunder was also supposed to deal with dragons which were responsible for the production of the rain but always lazy on their duty. As a result, religious practitioners including Daoists and shamans "were expected to understand, interpret, and cope with these otherwise unfathomable forces and their ensuing disasters."²⁸ Thunder Rites were seen in religious practice as early as in the Five Dynasties before the establishment of the Song that "popular magicians outside of established traditions but armed with the 'Rites of Thunder' (*leifa* 雷法) or other techniques revealed from

²⁸ Florian C. Reiter, "The name of the nameless and thunder magic", eds, Poul Andersen and Florian C. Reiter, *Scriptures, schools and forms of practice in Daoism : a Berlin symposium* (Wiesbaden, 2005) p. 105

gods helped provide a tumultuous world with a sense of divine justice.”²⁹ During the last two decades of the Northern Song, Thunder Rites experienced a meteoric rise to fame along with the proliferation of Tianxin (Heart of Heaven) and Shenxiao (Divine Empyrean) traditions. Under the names of the Five Thunders (*wulei* 五雷) and Thunderclap (*leiting* 雷霆), Thunder Rites developed into an all-inclusive system of articulations for thunder powers in theory, scripture, meditation and ritual, encompassing a variety of local, Tantric and Daoist elements.³⁰ By and large, Thunder Rites were integrated into the official Daoist culture by the effort of Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076-1120) and Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093-1153) at the court of Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (r. 1101-1125).³¹ In times of natural disasters (flood, drought), exorcistic rituals were to be held by expert Daoists. Throughout the Song dynasty, this exorcistic help is almost exclusively associated with the Shenxiao Daoism 神霄派 and Thunder Rites.³² Soon, the Thunder Rites became an acknowledged part of the ritual and exorcistic practices of Heavenly Master Daoism. From the view of ritual practice, the development of Thunder Rites was associated with the sublimation (*liandu* 煉度) process described by Meulenbeld as forging divinities out of demonic ore and a spirit whose lowly background is disguised while its spirit is made stronger.³³ In other words, Thunder Rites function through the Daoist sublimation process as the means of transforming local martial spirits into civilized divinities.

The practice of Thunder Rites could be understood from two aspects. For one thing, in the Heaven, it is Sire Thunder (*leigong* 雷公) who was in control of the thunder. The evolution of Sire Thunder has gone through different stages. For example, before the Tang, Sire Thunder was always associated with dragons not only in his duty but also in his appearance as described in the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 “a dragon's body with a human head, drumming on his belly” 龍身而人頭，鼓其腹。³⁴ In other Chinese traditional recordings, such as the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記,

²⁹ Mastsumoto 1979, cited in Lowell Skar, “Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times”, in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden, 2000), p.418

³⁰ Lowell Skar, “Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times”, in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden, 2000), p.423

³¹ Ibid, p. 101

³² Reiter commented additionally that the traditions of Thunder Rites were systematized by Qingwei Daoism which was virtually in the guise of Shenxiao by using “Shenxiao” as its alternative name in the 14th century.

³³ Meulenbeld, pp. 3, 5

³⁴ *Shanhai jing* in *Zhonghua zajing jicheng* (Beijing, 1994), p.428

it suggests the multiple personalities of the Sire Thunder, while some other documents describe him as a flying god; some say he was one of five brothers, the Five Thunders; and some even say “several dozens of Sire Thunder 雷公數十”.³⁵ Moreover, there is a Buddhist thunder god called Garuda (Jialouluo or Jialiuluo), who was once portrayed as a great golden winged bird famous for his great persistence in chasing rain-dragons. His other duties include “punishing or correcting earthly evildoers and sinners”,³⁶ which are quite similar to that of Sire Thunder. This Buddhist thunder god seems to have been an active participant in Daoist liturgies either by transforming into his Daoist avatar Zhang Yuanbo 張元伯, or being the attacking target of Daoist warrior gods such as Marshal Wen—I will come back to this in later discussion.

For another, on the earth, the practitioner of Thunder Rites is supposed to receive instructions from an enlightened master before performing the ritual on his own. The inner alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) system plays a crucial role in the performance of Thunder Rites that the practitioner combines his souls and spirits 魂魄 by means of meditation and some other ritual practices such as grinding the teeth 扣齒.³⁷ By practicing the *neidan*, thunder gods will be summoned. The weapons used in Thunder Rites include seals, amulets and secret prayers 秘訣, all of which may serve the purposes of killing pythons and noxious dragons, summoning thunders, and calling in rain.

As the Thunder Rites gradually took the major role in exorcism, the mechanism for “containment” of the demonic and not its destruction was established. As Meulenbeld indicated, there are three basic levels of hierarchy according to which Daoist martial ritual was carried out: (1) the Daoist master, who commanded; (2) the Thunder gods, who captured; (3) demons that could be marshaled.³⁸ Practitioners could either use a sword or the “sword mudra 劍訣” to create a well so as to imprison demons. Meanwhile, the well was a small-size reservoir where to retain the water which represented the Black North, the sacred territory of the Dark Warrior 玄武. During the process, demons captured would not be destroyed but kept in the well waiting to be sublimed and those who managed to go through the sublimation would receive Daoist canonization and enter

³⁵ Meulenbeld, p. 74

³⁶ Ibid, p. 86

³⁷ See: Reiter, 2005

³⁸ Meulenbeld, p. 141

the Daoist official hierarchy. Two sides of the thunder ritual are pointed out: the two opposites of “vernacular crudeness and classical civilization were markers of the dual nature of Thunder Rituals and of the ambiguous provenance of the power of the Daoists who performed them.”³⁹ On the one hand, the official ceremony of presenting petitions to the God on High was included in the ritual, on the other the capture of evil spirits was also an inalienable part of it. The two sides match exactly with the dual character of the Daoist warrior deities who will be discussed later.

From the Song onwards, a new group of religious practitioners called Ritual Masters (*fashi* 法師) emerged. This new Daoist lineage active in South China appeared during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, each of these lineages defined by a particular method of rite (*fa*), and their practitioners were addressed as Ritual Masters or Ritual Officers (*faguan* 法官), whose major function was exorcism.⁴⁰ They were specialized in the “Rectifying Rites of the Celestial Heart” 天心正法 and in the “Rites of the Five Thunder [Gods]” 五雷法 which were among the most popular new therapeutic movements during that period. One of the most significant features of these lineages was that each one was associated with at least one martial deity, generally referring as “Generals (*jiangjun* 將軍)”, “Prime Martials (*yuanshuai* 元帥)”, or “Powerful Officials (*lingguan* 靈官)”⁴¹ under the aegis of a Ritual Master or a Ritual Officer by means of registers 籙, talismans 符, spells 咒, and seals 印. Besides, there were many other characteristics to identify a *fashi*. First of all, a *fashi* was an ordinary person (*suren*) with the title of a Daoist priest.⁴² Second, *fashi* usually lived in villages and moved about. Third, they had been profoundly influenced by Tantric Buddhism that some of their ritual practices can be traced to the cult of Uccuṣma in the eighth and ninth centuries.⁴³ Fifth, *fashi* had to obey certain rules that were also followed strictly by Daoist priests. As pointed out by Davis, not only did many *fashi* come to specialize in ministering to the therapeutic needs of the sons and daughters of official or wealthy families, but many

³⁹ Ibid, p. 38

⁴⁰ Davis, p. 14

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 30

⁴² It is noteworthy to point out here that not only did *fashi* adopt a title of a Daoist priest, but also a *fashi* title would be applied to a priest or a spirit medium as well during the practice of the exorcist rituals.

⁴³ Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 included in his work *The Recorded Conversations* an unprecedented pantheon filled with exotic air in which Uccuṣma and the Medicine King Nagarjuna 龙树医王 formed a divine pair at the center with ten subordinate deities of diverse nature of fierce bodhisattvas, guardian deities, and converted demons. See: *Song Bai zhenren Yuchan quanji* 宋白真人玉蟾全集, 白玉蟾 (臺北, 1976), 424 (*Yulu* 语录 6a-b).

of those sons and some of their fathers also became lay practitioners of the new exorcistic traditions associated with the Daoist Ritual Masters.⁴⁴ Until then, it seemed that the tension between Daoism and popular religion accelerated the assimilation of local cults by Daoism and thus induced the emergence of the special group of religious practitioners to mediate in between.

The following discussion will be divided into two chapters. The first chapter sets out to deal with the prominence of Daoist warrior gods during the Song and Yuan dynasties. Discussion will be organized around four particular warrior gods namely the Black Killer, Zhenwu, Marshal Deng Bowen and Marshal Wen Qiong. Primary sources in the *Daoist Canon* such as the *Story of the Perfected Lord in Subservience to Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit* 翊聖保德傳 (*Yisheng baode zhuan*) and the *Scripture of the True Warrior of the North Told By the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Commencement* 元始天尊說北方真武經 (*Yuanshi tianzun shuo Beifang Zhenwu jing*) will be consulted from time to time. The second is devoted to the textual analysis of the *Hagiography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of the Earth Spirits* 地祇上將溫太保傳 (*Diqi shangjiang Wen Taibao zhuan*). Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), the author the “Stele Inscription of Wen, the King of Loyalty and Pacification” 溫忠靖王廟堂碑 (*Wen zhongjing wang miaotang bei*), will also be included in the discussion with emphasis on his life experience.

⁴⁴ Davis, p. 57

Chapter One The Prominence of Daoist Warrior Gods

From the Song on, four Daoist gods including Tianpeng 天蓬, Tianyou 天猷, Heisha 黑煞, and Zhenwu 真武 were promoted in group as one of the most important cults in Shenxiao tradition, in charge of protecting the Way 護法, and were thus called Divine Generals for Protecting the Way 護法神將. All of them shared the important administration of the divinities of the Tiangang 天罡 and held a close connection with the proliferating Thunder Rites. They were worshipped by the Song emperors as the Four Saints 四聖 and were often ritually linked with exalted protectors of the north like the Emperor of the North and the Purple Tenuity.⁴⁵ As described in the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元, Marshal Tianpeng has three heads and six arms, red hair, dark red dress, barefooted, with armor in red. One of his left hands reveals the Tianpeng seal while one of his right hands sounds the imperial bell; another left hand carries an axe while another right hand reveals the Seven Stars Seal; the third left hand lifts a rope while the third right hand holds a sword, leading 360,000 soldiers together with Sire Thunder and Mother of Lightning, the Clerks of Wind and Rain, Fairchild and Jade Girl.⁴⁶ During the Song and beyond, the Black Killer and Zhenwu received extra support from the imperial courts. This chapter sets out to look at the two saints by examining hagiographic texts granted to them.

1 Black Killer

In the winter of the last year of the Great Central Auspicious Talisman (*Dazhong xiangfu* 大中祥符) reign (1016) of Emperor Zhenzong (r. 998-1022), Commissioner of Military Affairs⁴⁷ Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962-1025)⁴⁸ presented the *Story of the Perfected Lord in Support of Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit* 翊聖保德傳 (*Yisheng baode zhuan*) to the emperor. According to the *Story*, Zhang Shouzhen 張守真, a native of Fengxiang 鳳翔 county, encountered a

⁴⁵ Lowell Skar, "Ritual Movements, Deity Cults, and the Transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan Times", in Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden, 2000), p.420

⁴⁶ DFHY: 217.5a

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ *The History of the Song*, juan 8

god who claimed that he was the Assisting Minister of the Jade Emperor and that he had come to persuade Zhang to serve the Song court. Stoutly refusing meat offerings and official honors, the deity declared himself to be a god of the highest Heaven, hoping to show sincerity and faithfulness to the Supreme Thearch (*Shangdi* 上帝). Demanding obedience, the deity revealed his instructions to Zhang and taught him the sword mudra for eliminating demons. This deity was actually the Black Killer, the first of the Four Saints to won exclusive favor from the Song emperors and be honored with a full-length text. Later, he was promoted to be the divine guardian of the empire.

Before starting a close reading of the text, it is necessary to take a look at its historical context. Judging from its distinctive narrative style and the historical circumstances of its creation, the *Yisheng baode zhuan* turns out to be an unusual hagiographic record—one heavily influenced by political intentions. First of all, the author of this text, Wang Qinruo, was a powerful minister at Zhenzong's court. Wang had served in many different posts such as Scholar of the Imperial Academy,⁴⁹ Chief Minister of the Ministry of Rites,⁵⁰ Minister of the Ministry of Revenue,⁵¹ to name just a few. Not long before offering the text to the emperor, he was appointed Commissioner of Military Affairs. According to the *History of the Song*, right before the text was presented to the ruler, several natural disasters happened. In the ninth lunar month, the Xiong and Ba rivers overflowed. A rebellion by minorities in the southwest broke out. Later, an imperial banquet for the Double Ninth Festival was cancelled due to a drought. After a while, it rained and the drought ended. However, soon after a locust plague broke out in several provinces.⁵² All these phenomena constitute the background to the text in which the protagonist, the Black Killer, is the divine guardian of the Song Empire. As a result, Wang's promotion of the Black Killer's cult was further stimulated by the emperor, whose interests were also served by it. Already in 1008, a "Heavenly Text" (*tianshu* 天書) had appeared within the imperial city when a yellow silk scroll was found by a gate keeper.⁵³ Since then, a series of miraculous events started to take place. Thus, Zhenzong turned out to be not only a political ruler but also a devout and practicing

⁴⁹ Ibid, *juan* 6

⁵⁰ Ibid, *juan* 7

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid, *juan* 8

⁵³ Suzanne E. Cahill, "Taoism at the Sung Court: The Heavenly Text Affair of 1008", *Bulletin of Sung and Yuan Studies*, 16, 1981, pp.23-44

Daoist.⁵⁴ During his reign, he sponsored the composition and compilation of Daoist texts, among which the *Daoist canon*, called the *Great Song Heavenly Palace Treasure Store* 大宋天宮寶藏 (*Da Song tiangong baozang*), as well as an anthology entitled *Seven Slips from a Bookbag of Clouds* 雲笈七籤 (*Yunji qiqian*). He also granted patronage to many Daoist establishments. He even bestowed himself with an imperial title of “Grand Supreme Theocrat of Great Heaven, Who Opens the Heavens, Controls Talismans, Regulates the Calendar, Contains Perfection, and Embodies the Way 太上開天執符禦曆含真體道皇天大帝.” By doing this he expected to borrow the charisma of a potent religious figure to lend legitimacy to his rule and the imperial family.⁵⁵ All this served to confirm Song’s continued possession of the Heavenly Mandate. The political intention was to keep a stable internal order at a time of crisis and to use the opportunity for propaganda to outside threats, the Khitan in this case.

Unlike the usual style of hagiographies, the *Yisheng baode zhuan* does not open with a description of an extraordinary birth or a miraculous pre-life of its protagonist, but goes directly to his descent and revelations to an extraordinary mortal named Zhang Shouzhen, who possessed, in the deity’s words, extraordinary bones.⁵⁶ The history of the Black Killer’s transformation into a martial god is absent. Instead, lengthy descriptions are devoted to a variety of miracles and to his expostulations to the populace through his agents, usually Zhang Shouzhen and sometimes court eunuchs. When the Black Killer revealed through Zhang that the King of Jin had a benevolent heart,⁵⁷ the implied warranty of the “divine right” to rule of this king was supported. In short, this text, though it was entitled as “*Yisheng baode zhuan*”, is not, properly speaking, a hagiography, but rather a religio-political account of events that legitimize the Song dynasty, in particular Zhenzong. Therefore, the protagonist of this text recedes to the background while the political effect is given priority.

A necessary figure accompanying a deity is usually a religious practitioner who is able to communicate with the deity and carry out his divine missions on earth. Zhang Shouzhen was

⁵⁴ Ibid, p.38

⁵⁵ Ibid, pp.39-40

⁵⁶ DZ1285:1.1b

⁵⁷ Ibid:1.5b

chosen by the Black Killer for his virtue of being pure, which enabled him to practice exorcism⁵⁸ and gave him extraordinary bones distinguishing him from ordinary people.

Throughout the text, the revelations of the Black Killer are primarily made by voice, and his image is too vague to be described. Nevertheless, his characteristics as a warrior god are clearly expressed through his transmitted words and behavior towards the wicked. Lacking a concrete and legible form, he made Zhang Shouzheng his spokesperson through whom his instructions are transmitted. His martial characteristics, however, had been exposed from the very beginning when he threatened Zhang by saying, "If I am not able to perform great deeds for the Song dynasty, then you will surely be ground to powder."⁵⁹ Not long after Taizong (r. 976-997) was enthroned, the Black Killer revealed his words, this time not through Zhang but through a eunuch called Wang Ji'en 王繼恩, saying that "I will increase good fortune to those who practice loyalty and filiality and punish to death those who are disobedient; as long as reward and punishment are equally carried out, filth and dust will be cleared up."⁶⁰ The story of Wang Shoujie 王守節 and Wang Guicong 王龜從 further suggests the harsh character of the Black Killer: due to their dereliction of duty during the 979 construction of the Palace of Great Peace of Supreme Clarity on Mt. Zhongnan in Zhongnan Town as ordered by Taizong 太宗, they received rigorous punishments, with the former falling fatally ill and the latter dying in battle.⁶¹

The arrangement of the internal halls of the Palace of Great Peace of Supreme Clarity (Shangqing Taiping Gong 上清太平宮) reveals the significance of the Black Killer. Along the vertical axis of the compound there were four halls dedicated to, from front to the rear, the Jade Emperor, Purple Tenuity, the Seven Primordial Ones, and finally the Black Killer. On the eastern and western sides of the vertical axis were two wings with four side-halls each. The front side of the east wing was dedicated to Tianpeng, Nine Glories, the Eastern Dipper and the Three Officials of Heaven, Earth and Water, and the front side of the west wing to Zhenwu, the Twelve Asterisms, the Western Dipper and Celestial Officials.⁶² The Black Killer was thus placed above the other members of the Four Saints and only below the Jade Emperor, Purple Tenuity, and the

⁵⁸ Ibid:1.2a-b

⁵⁹ Ibid:1.1a

⁶⁰ Ibid:1.6a

⁶¹ Ibid:1.7b

⁶² Ibid:1.6b

Seven Primordial Ones (the Northern Dipper). The ascent of the Black Killer to the fourth place in the pantheon marked the beginning of the prominence of Daoist warrior gods and related Daoist traditions.

The remarkable prominence of the Black Killer was also manifested in the changes in his official titles. During the construction of the Palace of Great Peace of Supreme Clarity, he was referred to as “Perfect Lord.” In 981 Taizong gave him the title of “General Who Supports the Sage.” Among the Four Saints, the Black Killer won exclusive favor from the Song court, with his cult reaching an apex when Zhenzong signed a treaty with Liao in 1004. After the “Heavenly Text” incident, the Black Killer was promoted to become the “Supporter of Sageliness and Protector of Virtue”. In 1014, he continued to be awarded new titles as “Perfect Lord Who Supports the Sage and Protects Virtue,” two years before the *Yisheng baode zhuan* was presented to the throne.

Two major functions of the Black Killer, as revealed in the *Yisheng baode zhuan*, are divination and capturing ghosts and goblins. During the time of Qiande 乾德 (963-968), the Black Killer revealed to Taizong (who was still King of Jin at that time) that he would become the second emperor of the Song.⁶³ Nevertheless, in this text, his second function outweighs the first one because of his role as a Daoist warrior god. The main aim of Daoist warrior gods is to assist the Supreme Thearch (in the case of the Black Killer), or the Heavenly Masters (in the case of Marshal Wen, to be discussed later).

Throughout the *Yisheng baode zhuan*, the Black Killer commented frequently on the Three Teachings, suggesting that each of them has advantages and disadvantages.

On Daoism, he pointed out that the *Scripture of Supreme Virtues* 太上道德經 (*Taishang daode jing*) included everything huge or tiny, and that it was propitious for self-cultivation, family management and state administration.⁶⁴ The sense of Daoist superiority prevailing in the text is not hard to understand if we consider the author, Wang Qinruo, the aforementioned court official, who was interested in both Buddhism and Daoism but seemed to have favored Daoism in

⁶³ Ibid:1.4b

⁶⁴ Ibid:2.3b

the end, played a decisive role in promoting the cult of the Black Killer. His final predilection of Daoism might be resulted from the intense relationship between the Song court and the northern "barbarians"-because Buddhism was foreign religion. According to the *History of the Song*, when Wang was young, he once woke up at night and saw the red scripts of "Purple Tenuity" up in the sky. Later he met an unusual person in the Shu region who informed him of his future career as Prime Minister. Having gained high position, he developed an interest in the affairs of immortals and often established Daoist altars marked by "red scripts" of "Purple Tenuity."⁶⁵ Produced by such a Daoist-friendly official, the text on the Black Killer is heavily shaped by Daoist vocabulary and *weltanschauung*. As a result of Wang's religious preference and his political intentions, the Black Killer's attitude towards other religions confirms the superiority of Daoism. According to the text, the Supreme Thearch ranks the highest among all heavens. All manifestations of nature and immortals are subjected to him. The worshipers of the Supreme Thearch, including emperors of all the heavens, guards of all souls, immortals, and even Buddha himself, all come to pay respects.⁶⁶ The Supreme Thearch here refers to the Jade Emperor. After Taizong granted the title of "General Who Supports the Sage" (*yi sheng jiangjun* 翊聖將軍) to the Black Killer in 981, he also clarified that the Sage is the Supreme Thearch, since the Black Killer once declared to be the Assisting Minister of the Jade Emperor.⁶⁷ The above paragraph also states that the Hall of the Supreme Thearch is called the Hall of Penetrating Illumination 通明殿, the very name used for the hall of the Jade Emperor in the Palace of Great Peace of Supreme Clarity 玉皇通明殿. Hence, the Supreme Thearch and the Jade Emperor are identical here. The word *sheng* probably contains double meanings, however: it also might refer to the emperor himself, as in other parts of the text the Black Killer assists the emperor with all sorts of affairs.

Wang Qinruo's close relationship with Buddhism⁶⁸ enabled him to place the Buddha in a high position, but second to Daoism. When Zhang Shouzhen enquired about Buddhist Teaching,

⁶⁵ *The History of the Song*, juan 283

⁶⁶ DZ1285:2.1b

⁶⁷ Ibid:1.8b

⁶⁸ He once promoted the Tiantai Buddhist movement in Hangzhou by forwarding Ciyun Zunshi's requests of bestowing canonical status to the Tiantai scriptures and having the Tianzhu Monastery officially sanctioned as a public monastery permanently dedicated to the Tiantai teaching. See: Daniel Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yun Tsun-shih (964-1032) and T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung," eds., Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz, *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 340-408

the Black Killer commented that the merit of the *Si shi'er zhang jing* 四十二章經 (*Forty-two Chapter Scripture*) was to cultivate the heart and the mind and thereby avoid misfortune.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, he pointed out that although the Buddha was the Saint of the west who had obtained the Way and who resided in the Buddhist Heaven in the midst of the Daoist Three Pure Heavens, the relationship between the Buddha and the Supreme Thearch was actually like the one between the nine ministers and the emperor.⁷⁰ Besides, evil forces sometimes take advantage of Buddhism and do harm to people. For example, one of the stories recorded in the text is about a group of fox spirits residing on the South Mountain of Chang'an. They changed their shapes into the Buddha so as to entice people to squander their wealth in worship.⁷¹ This point is repeatedly confirmed in the hagiography of Marshal Wen which will be examined later.

Confucianism is not touched upon too much in the text, but we can still sense the attitude towards it is relatively positive, as the Black Killer constantly urges the people to be loyal and filial, and he himself has an intimate relation with the Song court. In the *Yisheng baode zhuan*, the teachings of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius are listed among the divine productions, containing the principles of ruling a state and the techniques of governing the people.⁷² This is probably because of the author's position as a high official of the court.

The hostile relationship between Daoism and popular religion is brought into view by a conversation between the Black Killer and Zhang Shouzhen at the beginning of the text. Zhang first thought that he was selected by the Black Killer to take part in shamanistic affairs, so he refused by saying that "I have heard that male shamans are called *wu* 巫 and female shamans are called *xian* 覡. Though I am an ordinary person, I feel ashamed of being either of them."⁷³ The Black Killer put off his worries, telling him that he considered blood offerings as filth and should be worshipped with tea, fruits and vegetarian food only.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ DZ1285:2.3b

⁷⁰ Ibid:2.3a

⁷¹ Ibid:2.6b

⁷² Ibid:2.3b

⁷³ Ibid:1.1b

⁷⁴ Ibid:1.2a

2 Zhenwu

Zhenwu, another of the Four Saints, first appears as a martial deity under the name of General Xuanwu in the *Taishang Yuanshi Tianzun shuo Beidi fumo shenzhou miaojing* 太上元始天尊說北帝伏魔神咒妙經 (*Wondrous Scripture of the North Emperor's Divine Incantations for Subduing Demons Set Forth by the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Commencement*, hereafter referred to as the *Wondrous Scripture of the North Emperor*). This ten *juan* scripture was compiled during the Northern Song by the “Green Empyrean and Glorious Cave Taiyi Official of the Three Caverns of Supreme Purity Scriptural Seal Characters” Ouyang Wen 歐陽雯.⁷⁵ In *juan* 3, one can read: “Next is General Xuanwu, characterized as the first terrestrial branch, dressed in a celestial black turban and black robe, twenty-five *zhang* tall, holding drums and a bell, with four hundred thousand soldiers dressed in feather clothes emerging from the kidneys⁷⁶ to guard the surroundings.”⁷⁷

Unlike the *Yisheng baode zhuan*, the hagiographic texts of Zhenwu to be discussed are called *jing* 經 (scripture) and *lu* 錄 (record). Most of them are anonymous except for the *Xuandi shilu* 玄帝實錄 (*True Record of the Dark Emperor*), which is attributed to a certain Dong Suhuang 董素皇. In the following passage, I will discuss the existing texts in chronological order.

2.1 *Yuanshi tianzun shuo Beifang Zhenwu jing* 元始天尊說北方真武經

Carved on a stone in central China in 1099, the penultimate year of the reign of Song Zhezong 宋哲宗 (r. 1085-1100) and the year before Huizong's (r. 1100-1125) ascension to the throne, the *Yuanshi tianzun shuo Beifang Zhenwu jing* (*Scripture of the True Warrior of the North Told By the Heavenly Worthy of the Primordial Commencement*, hereafter referred to as *The Scripture of the True Warrior*) is the earliest datable hagiographic record of Zhenwu among

⁷⁵ Poul Andersen, in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist canon : a historical companion to the Daozang* (Chicago, 2004), p.1189

⁷⁶ Kidneys are the northern viscera of human body.

⁷⁷ DZ1412:3.4b

extant texts⁷⁸ and was probably the model for later hagiographic records of Zhenwu. It presents a short but complete life story of Zhenwu, which was redacted and expanded in later versions. The story is told through a conversation between the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Commencement and a Perfect Lord called Miaoxing 妙行 (Marvelous Walker) during a period of great turbulence in the secular world.

Once, the King of Pure Bliss and the Queen of Virtuous Victory dreamed of swallowing sunlight. Upon awakening the Queen was pregnant. The pregnancy lasted fourteen months. At noon of the third day of the third month of the first year of *kaihuang* 開皇 (Inaugural Luminary),⁷⁹ corresponding with the year of *jiachen* 甲辰, [a boy] was born in the palace. He was born with divine intelligence and grew up to be brave and fierce. He refused to ascend the throne, concentrating instead on self-cultivation in order to assist the Jade Emperor. He swore to eliminate the evil demons under heaven and to save and protect all beings. Day and night, he repeated this vow at the palace. The king could not stop him. Thus, the prince bid farewell to his parents, left home, and went to Mt. Wudang to cultivate the Way for forty-two years. After his cultivation was completed and the [karmic] fruit matured, he ascended to heaven in broad day light. The Jade Emperor, knowing the prince to be brave and fierce, ordered him to guard the north and granted him the position of Zhenwu in order to eliminate the demons and sinners under heaven.⁸⁰

Modeled on the story of Sakyamuni, Zhenwu is here portrayed as a human prince born under abnormal circumstances and with no interest in the throne. Several points in this story that became the basic elements of later versions deserve notice: (1) Zhenwu's parents (the King of Pure Bliss and the Queen of Virtuous Victory), (2) the dream of swallowing sunlight and an overlong pregnancy, (3) Zhenwu's birthday on the third day of the third month of the first year of *kaihuang*, corresponding with the year of *jiachen*, (4) his indifference towards the throne and his interest in assisting the Jade Emperor with eliminating evil forces, (5) his abjuration of his palace

⁷⁸ Chao Shin-yi, forthcoming, p.8. Quoted with permission.

⁷⁹ Kaihuang is the fourth of the five *kalpas*. The other four are yankang 延康, longhan 龍漢, chiming 赤明, and shanghuang 上皇. It is explained in the opening part of the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao dagangchao* 太上洞玄靈寶大綱鈔, attributed to the late Tang Daoist Lüqiu Fang 閻丘方, that as soon as the Great Way broke up, it separated into five elements and circulated as the five *kalpas*. At the beginning or ending of each *kalpa*, a great saint appeared to transmit doctrines and preach scriptures, so as to convert celestial beings. The five *kalpas* are associated with the five elements: wood, fire, metal, water and earth. The *kalpas* moved in circles and developed sun, moon, stars, *yin* and *yang* as well as other astronomical elements. At a lower level, they developed mountains, rivers, oceans, men, and animals. All these were separately dominated and followed the Great Saint, reincarnating through different energies.

⁸⁰ DZ 27:3a-b

home and residence on Mt. Wudang, where he practiced the Way for forty-two years before ascending to heaven, and (6) his position as the guardian of the north to eliminate all demons. Zhenwu's position as the "True Warrior" and his function as a demon eliminator under the aegis of the Jade Emperor indicate his nature as a Daoist martial deity. To reinforce Zhenwu's martial characteristics, the author adds a description of Zhenwu after his transformation into a god:

[Zhenwu] then unbound his hair, and stepped barefoot on a flying snake and a divine turtle of the Eight Trigrams. He led three hundred thousand divine soldiers, divinities of the six *ding* 丁 and six *jia* 甲, divine soldiers of the Five Thunders, lions of huge eyes, venomous snakes, and a good number of fierce beasts to the lower world. Within seven days, all demons under heaven had been vanquished. Human and spirits were separated; wronged ghosts were dispelled.⁸¹

The image of Zhenwu as a warrior god is thus made more lively: his loosened hair and his bare feet treading on a snake and a turtle became part of the iconography of Zhenwu and were adopted in all later hagiographic records. As a general, his subordinates included the divine soldiers of the Five Thunders and even some fierce animals. Such a fierce appearance resembles that of some local mediums or even Ritual Masters who usually dressed up like this during rituals. According to a case study of the ritual of divine investiture in Fujian of Schipper, both the master and the medium dress in the same style, and the latter is "none other than the alter ego of the officiant:" both expose their chests and have bare feet.⁸² Around the master's head is a turban of red cloth, his stomach is covered by a little red lozenge apron, and his waist is wrapped in a white "cavalier's skirt."⁸³ The close connection between Zhenwu and medium-based cults is thus somewhat evidenced.

2.2 *Xuandi shilu* 玄帝實錄

Similar forms and contents of Zhenwu's story are found in another scripture called the *Taishang shuo Xuantian dasheng Zhenwu benzhuan shenzhou miaojing* 太上說玄天大聖真武本傳神咒妙經 (*Wondrous Scripture of the Divine Spell Personally Transmitted by the True War-*

⁸¹ Ibid: 4a

⁸² Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley, 1993), p.49

⁸³ Ibid.

rior, Great Saint of the Dark Heaven, and Spoken by the Most High, hereafter referred to as the *Wondrous Scripture of Zhenwu*).⁸⁴ Nonetheless, more details about the development of Zhenwu are found in its lengthy commentary which adopted the same title as the main text.

The commentary attached to the *Wondrous Scripture of Zhenwu* (hereafter referred to as the *Commentary*) by Chen Zhong 陳公, who is unknown beyond this work, quotes another text called the *Xuandi shilu* 玄帝實錄 (*True Record of the Dark Emperor*, hereafter referred to as the *True Record*) which was revealed by planchette and passed on by a certain Dong Suhuang 董素皇. The original and complete version of the *True Record*, however, has been lost. Fragments of it can be found in the *Commentary*. From the *Commentary*, we learn that a kind of “spirit writing” later known as the *True Record* was revealed through a planchette in 1184,⁸⁵ which was then transmitted by a certain Zhang Mingdao 張明道 who was in charge of the Purple Void Altar in Xiangyang.⁸⁶

According to the *True Record*, Zhenwu was sent out to ward off demons when the Shang 商 King Zhou 紂 of the lower world lost the Way due to his licentious heart and his disrespect toward heaven.⁸⁷ In order to punish King Zhou’s improper behavior, a celestial order was sent to the North Pole Chancellery.⁸⁸ According to the order, King Wu 武王 of the Zhou 周 was assisted in his attack on King Zhou (of the Shang) to pacify the country in the yang world, while in the yin world, General Great Dark subdued demons and divided spirits from men.⁸⁹ King Wu’s battle against King Zhou reminds us of the famous novel *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 (*Canonization of the Gods*) and one of its major origins: a *huaben* 話本 (prompt book) called *Wuwang fa Zhou*

⁸⁴ Kristofer Schipper, eds., Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A historical companion to the Daozang* (Chicago, 2004), p.1195. Schipper and Verellen claim that the commentary of this scripture by Chen Zhong 陳公 explains that the divine spell was transmitted by the god personally.

⁸⁵ DZ 754:1.4b

⁸⁶ Ibid:1.4b. Not far away from Mt. Wudang, the town of Xiangyang has long been a center of Zhenwu’s cult. Many pilgrims began their journey to Mt. Wudang in Xiangyang, where they first visited the Zhenwu Abbey near Xiangyang to present memorials. See: Lagerwey, “The Pilgrimage to Wu-Tang Shan”, p.315

⁸⁷ DZ 754:1.1b During his visit to the Monastery of the Jade Fairy, King Zhou expressed his affection towards the Jade Fairy, who then warned him of receiving a condemnation. See *Wuwang fa Zhou Pinghua* (Jiangxi, 1981), chapter one. During his trip to the Temple of Nüwa, King Zhou was surprised by the unparalleled beauty of the goddess and wrote an obscene poem on the wall inside the temple, thus infuriating the goddess. See *Fengshen yanyi* (Shanghai, 1991), chapter one.

⁸⁸ DZ 754:1.2a

⁸⁹ Ibid:1.2a

pinghua 武王伐紂平話 (*King Wu's Expedition against King Zhou*). The original copy of the *Wuwang fa Zhou pinghua* dates to the reign of Emperor Yingzong 英宗 (r.1321-1323) of the Yuan dynasty, while the earliest edition of *Fengshen* appeared no earlier than the end of the Ming dynasty, probably between 1621 and 1627.⁹⁰ The connection between King Wu's expedition against King Zhou and Zhenwu's task to eliminate demons is thus established in the way that wars of righteousness are carried out at the same time in both the *yang* and *yin* worlds. Zhenwu has now a counterpart in the lower, *yang* world, implying that his action corresponds with just battles under heaven. Such an implication was later utilized strategically by the third emperor of the Ming, Zhu Di 朱棣, as an excuse to launch a war against his nephew, the second Ming emperor, and seize the throne.

More descriptions were added to enrich Zhenwu's past life with Daoist cosmic concepts, paving the way for him to enter the Daoist celestial hierarchy as a superior god. He is said to be the true incarnation of the Five Numen Lord Lao of Mystery, the incarnation of the Primal Origin, and a distinct embodiment of the Great Ultimate. During the time of the Three Sovereigns,⁹¹ he descended to be the Perfect of Great Commencement^{92, 93}.

The account of Zhenwu's birth and life before he left home for Mt. Wudang resembles the stone inscription with only slight differences. For example, the episode of his mother swallowing sunlight has been replaced by describing him as the "essence of the great yang."⁹⁴ He was born from the left armpit of his mother,⁹⁵ and during this process auspicious clouds covered the

⁹⁰ Liu Ts'un-yan, *The Authorship of the Fêng Shên Yen I* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p.76

⁹¹ The concept of the Three Sovereigns was first seen in the *Wushang miyao*, *juan* six: "The energy of Grand Cave is Sovereign of Heaven; the energy of Dark Cave is Sovereign of Earth; the energy of Spiritual Cave is Sovereign of mankind. The Sovereign of Heaven administers energy; the Sovereign of Earth administers spirit; and the Sovereign of mankind administers birth."

⁹² "Taishi" is one of the stages during the formation of the universe. It was first brought up in a Han divinatory book entitled *Qianzhao du* 乾凿度 that there were (stages of) Great Changes, Great Preliminary, Great Commencement, and Great Simplicity. There was no energy during the Great Changes; the Great Preliminary was the beginning of energy; the Great Commencement was the beginning of form; and the Great Simplicity was the beginning of quality. Quoted by Feng youlan in the *Zhongguo zhexue shi xinbian* (Beijing, 1986), p.194

⁹³ DZ 754:2.5b

⁹⁴ Ibid:3.1b

⁹⁵ This is probably modeled on the story of Laozi in the *Santian neijie jing* in which Laozi is said to be born from the left side of the Dark and Wondrous Jade Maiden, who was in turn formed by the three energies of Mystic, Primal, and Inaugural. HY 1196:2b, translated by Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley, 1997), p.209-10

whole country, extraordinary fragrance spread, and dirt and dust became gold and jade.⁹⁶ At the age of fifteen, the king, Zhenwu's father, admitted his ambition to leave home and serve the Supreme Thearch, conferring him a title of "Qianyun zi" 潛雲子 (Master of Hidden Cloud).⁹⁷ Moreover, the Most High bestowed the surname Li onto Zhenwu⁹⁸ to imply his origin and his special relation with Lord Lao as always shown in later account of Zhenwu as the eighty-second manifestation of Lord Lao.

Unlike the stone inscription, the *True Record* dedicates a lengthy passage to the description of the site where Zhenwu carried out his practice, Mt. Wudang. It is probably because the *True Record* was produced in Xiangyang, located close to Mt. Wudang, that this mountain has been given plenty of attention. Moreover, the author added a new figure called the Purple Goddess 紫元君 into Zhenwu's life story, who was also accepted in other versions as the master of Zhenwu. In accordance with the instructions of the Goddess, Zhenwu found a mountain with seventy-two peaks, among which there was one precipitous mountain reaching for the sky. Below this mountain was a rock, south of which was quiet and void.⁹⁹ He also learned the name of the mountain to be Taihe 太和 (Great Harmony); of the peak, Zixiao 紫霄 (Purple Empyrean); of the rock, Zixiao Cliff.¹⁰⁰ More importantly, after forty-two years of practice, Zhenwu achieved the Way, with the time of his ascension to heaven claimed to be the ninth day of the ninth month of the Purple Empyrean fifty-seventh year of Yellow Emperor.¹⁰¹ By now, a complete life cycle of Zhenwu as a human figure had been presented. He was born in human form on the third day of the third month and abandoned the human form on the ninth day of the ninth month. On these two dates, he descends from heaven to inspect the human world and to punish evildoers and eliminate demons. The third day of the third month and the ninth day of the ninth month, together with several other days, are included in the veneration calendar for Zhenwu. On the day of his ascension to heaven, Zhenwu was welcomed by five Perfect Lords who were sent by the

⁹⁶ DZ 754:3.1b-2a

⁹⁷ Ibid:3.2a

⁹⁸ Ibid:3.2b

⁹⁹ Ibid:3.5a

¹⁰⁰ Ibid:3.5b

¹⁰¹ Ibid:3.5b

Three Sovereigns and the Jade Emperor to open the way for him.¹⁰² Upon receiving the decree, Zhenwu took the position of the Great Dark.¹⁰³

The image of Zhenwu was enriched in the *True Record*. Descriptions of his appearance when he was in human form were added. It is said that he was nine *chi* tall, his face like a full moon with two dragon-like eyebrows and a couple of phoenix eyes. He had dense hair and a beautiful beard; his face was as pure as ice; he wore a jade crown of nine energies and donned a dress made from usnea.¹⁰⁴ When he achieved the Way, he followed his Master's instructions, leaving his hair untied and going barefoot, thereby capturing the real essence of *kan* and *li*.¹⁰⁵ After ascending to heaven, he trod on a turtle and a snake.¹⁰⁶ The background of the snake and the turtle is also explained in the *True Record*. It is said that when Marshal Great Dark was fighting against the Demon King of the Six Heavens, the latter transformed the two energies of *kan* and *li* into a black turtle and a huge snake.¹⁰⁷ As soon as the transformation was done, the Marshal forced them under his feet through divine power and locked the demons inside the big cave of Fengdu.¹⁰⁸ Since then, the snake and the turtle became Zhenwu's subordinates and were absorbed into his iconography as his unalienable companions.

The *True Record* also describes the episode of the Jade Emperor judging the merits and demerits of all deities in detail. The celestial judgment is said to have happened in 1057.¹⁰⁹ The next year, Zhenwu was conferred nobility as the Perfect of Supreme High, Purple Sovereign and Celestial Unity, the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven, and Master of the Jade Void.¹¹⁰

2.3 *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啓聖錄

¹⁰² Ibid:3.6a

¹⁰³ Ibid:3.7a

¹⁰⁴ Ibid:2.10a

¹⁰⁵ Ibid:3.4b

¹⁰⁶ Ibid:6.6a

¹⁰⁷ The trigrams *kan* and *li* are comparable to the tortoise and the snake as the yin and yang energies in *neidan* works. For example, in the *Cantong qi* both the male and the female do not stay alone; the tortoise and snake of the Dark Warrior coil to mutually support.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid:6.7b

¹⁰⁹ Ibid:1.4a

¹¹⁰ Ibid:1.4b

The most famous and complete hagiography dedicated solely to Zhenwu is the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lu* 玄天上帝啓聖錄 (*Record of the Epiphany of the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven*, hereafter referred to as the *Qisheng lu*). While the appellation “Xuantian shangdi” was part of the imperial canonization of the saint under the Yuan in 1303,¹¹¹ the ostentatious mention of the transformations of Lord Lao in the opening section indicates the impossibility of the current version having been composed under the Yuan.¹¹² It is thus more reasonable to consider the extant version of the *Qisheng lu* to be an early Ming text. However, according to Chao, though it was finalized in the early Ming, the basic form of the text took shape by the early Southern Song.¹¹³ Therefore, the employment of this text under the discussion restricted to the Song and Yuan was not totally ungrounded. At least it allows an extensive dialogue with the above two earlier texts of Zhenwu. As a late hagiographic record of Zhenwu, the *Qisheng lu* has borrowed from various old sources, including the *True Record*. The first *juan* is “primarily an episodic narrative of Zhenwu’s life from his birth as the prince of the Pure Bliss kingdom to his apotheosis,”¹¹⁴ while the rest is devoted to his miracles and sermons.

The contents of the first *juan* of the *Qisheng lu* have much in common with the *True Record*, except that the former is presented in a more systematic way. The hagiographic nature of the text, however, undermines it as a historical record. Although it is not reliable as history, the *Qisheng lu* preserves materials that echo sources from earlier times, and provides rich detail of veneration practices otherwise unavailable. Since the current version was finalized in the Ming dynasty and borrowed greatly from the *True Record*, a comparison of the *Qisheng lu* with the two earlier texts might help us to discern an evolution by which the figure of Zhenwu as a high martial deity has been shaped.

The opening section follows that of the *True Record* by stating that the Dark Emperor was the primary energy of the primordial heaven and the other form of the Great Ultimate, and that during the time of the High Three Sovereigns, [he] descended to be the Perfect of Great Commencement.¹¹⁵ The text however adds that during the time of the Middle Three Sovereigns,

¹¹¹ Kristofer Schipper, in *the Taoist Canon: a historical companion to the Daozang*, p.1200

¹¹² DZ958:1.1b

¹¹³ Chao Shin-yi, p.237

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p.233

¹¹⁵ DZ958:1.1b

[he] descended to be the Perfect of Great Beginning; and that during the time of the Low Three Sovereigns, [he] descended to be the Perfect of Great Simplicity.¹¹⁶ More significant is the description of him as the eighty-second manifestation of Lord Lao,¹¹⁷ a further example of the special relationship between Lord Lao and Zhenwu. Meanwhile, the story of Lord Lao conferring the surname Li on Zhenwu in the *True Record* is revised: now Zhenwu has the ability to change into various forms with different surnames, sometimes Li, sometimes Guo and sometimes Pei.¹¹⁸

The *Qisheng lu*'s representation of Zhenwu's birth and the story of his leaving home to search for the mountain as directed by his master, the Purple Goddess, are almost a direct copy of the *True Record*. Nevertheless, the text expands on the process of Zhenwu's search for and practice on Mt. Wudang. First, the Celestial Emperor of Ample Qian bestows him with a treasured sword.¹¹⁹ During his cultivation on the mountain, he experiences several tests, including one where the Purple Goddess disguised as an old woman grinds an iron stick into a needle;¹²⁰ one where Zhenwu grafts a plum twig into a betel nut tree;¹²¹ and one where nine fairies of Penglai try to seduce him.¹²² During Zhenwu's stay on the mountain, his father was so desperately missing him that he sent a minister along with five hundred soldiers to take the Prince back to home.¹²³ Yet, the soldiers could not pass a river until the ninth trial. When they finally met their Prince, their feet suddenly became inflexible like stones so that they could not move at all. Surprisingly, these people changed their minds to follow the Prince to practice on the mountain, and they became the five hundred Powerful Officials¹²⁴ as the Prince accomplished the Way.¹²⁵ Having passed all tests, Zhenwu finally obtained the Way after forty-two years of practice, receiving

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Ibid:1.15a

¹¹⁹ Ibid:1.3b

¹²⁰ Ibid:1.6a

¹²¹ Ibid:1.6b

¹²² Ibid:1.7a

¹²³ Ibid:1.4b

¹²⁴ The story of the five hundred Powerful Officials is probably inspired by the Buddhist tradition of arhats. It is said that after the sutra about the sixteen "great" arhats--the *Da aluohan Nandimiduoluo suo shuo fazhuji* 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記 (*Record of the Abiding Law as Spoken by the Great Arhat Nandimitra*)--was translated into Chinese in the mid-seventh century, the number of arhats in worship eventually expanded from sixteen to eighteen and then to five hundred in number. These arhats are said to reside in remote mountains and are believed to possess the *abhijñā* (the six miraculous powers). Their major responsibility is to protect the Bodhidharma until the buddha of the future, Maitreya, makes his appearance, and this kalpa (or cycle) of existence comes to an end. See: Richard K. Kent, eds., Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (New York, 2004), p.30-31.

¹²⁵ DZ958:1.4b

the title of Xuandi 玄帝 (Dark Emperor) together with an imperial decree to fight the Demonic King of Six Heavens.¹²⁶ Afterwards, he descended to the lower world to separate demons from humans within seven days,¹²⁷ after which he triumphantly returned to the Supreme Primordial Palace of the Pure Capital.¹²⁸ Next, the Jade Emperor, following the orders of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Commencement, issued a decree to honor the Dark Emperor as the “Great Marshal Dark Warrior who Guards the Heaven.”¹²⁹

Both the *True Record* and the *Qisheng lu* point out the place where Zhenwu achieved the Way to be at the location of the Palace of Heavenly Unity and True Blessing,¹³⁰ founded during the Yuan dynasty on the Southern Precipice of Mt. Wudang by a Wudang Daoist called Zhang Shouqing 張守清 (fl. 1253).¹³¹ The only difference is that the author of the *Qisheng lu* attaches a lengthy description of the scenery surrounding the Palace.

The episode of the Demonic King transforming the essence of *li* and *kan* into a turtle and a snake which are then trod on under Zhenwu’s feet is repeated in the text.¹³² However, in addition, he is also invested with the rank of emperor together with the Celestial Officer of Supreme Primordial, the Earth Officer of Middle Primordial, the Water Officer of Lower Primordial, Marshal Tianpeng, Marshal Tianyou, and Perfect Lord Yisheng on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month.¹³³

According to the text, the connection between Mt. Wudang and Zhenwu did not come to an end after he ascended to heaven. After eliminating the demons and pacifying the underworld, Zhenwu descended to Mt. Wudang again and carried out cultivation there for another twelve years. One day, he received a golden register from the Jade Emperor, ordering him to take up a position in the House of the North Pole who Protects Triumph, where he was put in charge of

¹²⁶ Ibid:1.12b

¹²⁷ Ibid:1.13a

¹²⁸ Ibid:1.13b

¹²⁹ Ibid:1.14b

¹³⁰ Ibid:1.7b

¹³¹ Lagerwey, “The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan”, p.297, eds., Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, *Pilgrims and sacred sites in China* (Berkeley, 1992)

¹³² It is viewed as the symbol of his acquisition of power over his sexuality represented by the serpent and the tortoise. See: Lagerwey (2010), p.78

¹³³ DZ958:1.18b

judging the good and evil affairs in the human world.¹³⁴ At the end of the text, there is also a story about an official accidentally witnessing an encounter of Zhenwu and his parents. It is said that on Zhenwu's birthday, he asked for a leave from the North Pole. After paying respect to Lord Lao, he went to the Celestial Palace of Luofu to serve his parents.¹³⁵ He also travelled around the lower world to inspect good and evil affairs.¹³⁶

So far, we have compared the three hagiographic records of Zhenwu. The earliest text contains the core elements of the full hagiography. The second text, transmitted by spirit writing, provides more information than about the protagonist alone. Since it was produced and circulated in Xiangyang, located nearby Mt. Wudang, quite a few details about the mountain have also been included in the text. The purpose of this redaction is not told by the text yet two effects are obvious: (1) the figure of Zhenwu as a human prince transformed into a Daoist high god is enriched, (2) the fame of Mt. Wudang is celebrated thanks to its intimate relation with Zhenwu. De Bruyn has suggested that "The cult of Zhenwu at Wudang shan must have begun to be strongly structured sometime between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries."¹³⁷ It is in the *Qisheng lu* that we found the cult of Zhenwu and the Wudang pilgrimage developed into a systematic network. And unlike the Black Killer, who persistently refused blood offerings and insisted on loyalty on his way to becoming a Daoist warrior god, Zhenwu, according to the *Qisheng lu*, achieved the same goal through the unceasing and orthodox pursuit of the Dao.

3 Marshal Deng Bowen

Marshal Deng Bowen, one of the most popular thunder gods invoked in the Thunder Rites, was described in an early hagiography, titled the *True Writs of Five Thunder*, itself a part of the *Shangqing yushu wulei zhenwen* 上清玉樞五雷真文 (*Jade Pivot of the Highest Purity*) in the *DFHY*.¹³⁸ The relevant section goes as follows:

¹³⁴ Ibid:1.22b

¹³⁵ Ibid:1.23b

¹³⁶ Ibid:1.23b

¹³⁷ De Bruyn, p. 559

¹³⁸ There is no data remark from the original scripture. Meulenbeld attributes this scripture to a composition of the first half of the eleventh century. See Meulenbeld, p.109, note 23

The Grand God of Scorching Fire, according to the Five Thunder Scripture, is the Great Immortal of Thunderclap, also known as the Grand God of Statues and Ordinances. His surname is Deng and his given name Bowen. During the time of the Yellow Emperor, he served as Commissioner of the army and once captured Chiyu. He later served the Marquis of Wind as a general. After a victory, the [Yellow] Emperor conferred on him the title of General of Henan. When the [Yellow] Emperor ascended to Heaven, Bowen also abandoned the secular world to live on Mount Wudang. Having practiced for a hundred years, he could still not ascend to Heaven for he had once eaten human flesh. The Lord on High called him in once, and bestowed Mount Wudang on him as his fief. Seeing how the people did not practice loyalty and filial piety, how murders increased and violence grew, how the strong bullied the weak and the rich the poor, [he] kept praying day and night, hoping to become a thunder god to carry out Heaven's will by punishing the wicked. He bore this idea in mind constantly and his wrath filled the sky. One day, his appearance suddenly changed and became that of a bat with a phoenix beak, silver teeth, red hair and a blue body, holding a thunder drill in the left hand and a thunder drummer in the right. [His] body became a hundred *zhang* tall with wings sprouting from his armpits. When he spread his wings, it became dark a hundred miles around. Two lights shooting from his eyes illuminated a thousand miles, turned sparkling stones into flowing gold, and dried up the sea. His hands and feet became dragon claws. When he traveled in the sky, he swallowed monsters and goblins, and killed demonic dragons. The God on High then promoted him to be the God of Statues and Ordinances serving under the aegis of the divine thunder. On the *wu* hour of the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, [he] ascended to the residence of the Southern Palace of Fire Command. When his power was at its peak, [he] was, in times of disorder, able to stir up the water of the Four Dark Oceans with his two wings and immerse the hills of Kunlun, and he was capable of causing the mountains, the rivers, and the earth to crumble. Those who practice thunder rites should sacrifice to him on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month and [thereby] expel evil spirits and shake mountain peaks. The evil spirits, venomous insects, and mountain goblins will be terrified when they hear his name. The god delights in drinking goose blood. Adepts should draw a picture of him and worship him. Pray to him for whatever you desire, and his efficacy will be incalculable. If no goose blood is available, goat blood may be used as a substitute. The Magic Talisman of Scorching Fire can be used to eliminate evil spirits, heal all sorts of illnesses, and expel pestilence. Attached to the gate of the hall, it can protect the house, prevent disasters and remove all evils¹³⁹

According to this hagiographical text, Deng Bowen has been given four titles, namely Grand God of Scorching Fire, Great Immortal of Thunderclap, Grand God of Statues and Ordinances, and General of Henan—each adding another dimension to his martial image. The image

¹³⁹ DZ1220:57.15a-16a

of Marshal Deng bears a strong resemblance to that of Sire Thunder of the Tang dynasty, who is described in various documents as a demon in black with a hog-like face, horns of five to six *chi* long, and flesh wings of over one *zhang*. A red apron covered half of this demon's body, a leopard skin was draped around his waist. His hands and feet had two claws that were of a metallic [golden] color, and he held a red snake on which he rested his feet. Another anecdote portrays him as bear and hog-like, with a furry horn, flesh wings of dark color, and holding a short handle stone axe.¹⁴⁰ Apparently, Marshal Deng is the new form of Sire Thunder in the post-Tang period. Meulenbeld summarizes some other similarities: "Both held a divine position as heavenly executioner, directing their profound anger at the sinful, as well as targeting recalcitrant dragons."¹⁴¹ The right time to worship Marshal Deng is on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month, which is traditionally called Duanwu Festival and which is the day when evil spirits are most rampant.¹⁴² This particular time associated with evil-fighting activities will also be found a part of Marshal Wen's life experience.

Unlike the two warrior gods discussed above, who unhesitatingly keep distance from blood sacrifice, Marshal Deng is indulged with blood offerings such as goose blood and goat blood. He also once ate human flesh. In spite of the evolution of his cult is carried out within the Daoist discourse, these features are retained, as though to emphasize his ferociousness and to imply his low rank in the Daoist divine bureaucracy. Even though he appears in the *Zongzhen ji* 總真集 as the Fire Scorcher of the Middle Heavens, Great God of Statues and Ordinances, Chief Marshal and Celestial Lord of Thunderclap,¹⁴³ indicating he had been promoted to the Middle Heavens with a higher rank of "Chief Marshal", he never achieved the historical and political significance of the Black Killer or Zhenwu. On the other hand, his connection to Mt. Wudang, as indicated by his appearance in the *Zongzhen ji*, further suggests his recruitment into the Wudang cycle of Zhenwu. While his superior, Zhenwu, demonstrated his connection to popular religion through his medium-like appearance (unbound hair and bare feet) and to common people

¹⁴⁰ *Taiping guangji* 394. Chuan Luanfeng

¹⁴¹ Meulenbeld, p. 113

¹⁴² A late Ming literatus Yang Sichang 楊嗣昌 recorded in the "Wuling jingdu lue" 武陵竞渡略 a lively Dragon Boat Festival in Hunan, stating: "the boat race is held to expel evils." Yang Sichang (1588-1641), "Wuling jingdu lue" ("The Dragon Boat Race in Wuling, Hunan"), trans. Zhao Weibang 赵卫邦, *Folklore Studies*, Vol. 2 (1943), p.8

¹⁴³ DZ962:3.18a

through his being domestically worshipped, Marshal Deng's connection to these two aspects which were constituent parts of local society was revealed through his preserved habit of blood drinking and a similar domestic cult. Both show us the process of rapprochement with popular religious cults. Another resemblance between Zhenwu and Marshal Deng is the recovery of themes from ancient mythology or storytelling: Zhenwu is said to be assisting King Wu (of the Zhou) against King Zhou (of the Shang) while Marshal Deng is said to be assisting the Yellow Emperor against Chiyao. Their appearance on the stage of popular narrative presents us with an important way of judging the "popular" tendency of Daoism.

4 Marshal Wen Qiong

Marshal Deng's hagiography shows a Daoist warrior god whose previous transgression of eating human flesh is balanced out by his assistance to the Yellow Emperor against Chiyao and his cultivation on Mount Wudang. The hagiography of Marshal Wen Qiong shows us another way of creating a Daoist martial deity. Here the deity is called Diqi (Earth Spirits 地祇), and his divine rank is even lower than the Middle Heavens; he is also close to local society. Before conducting a close reading of the hagiography of Marshal Wen *Diqi shangjiang Wen Taibao zhuan* 地祇上將溫太保傳 in the next chapter, I would like to first present an overall account of the evolution of this Daoist warrior god.

In his previous life, Marshal Wen served as a common soldier in the army of Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697-781), one of the great generals of the Tang dynasty. He exhibited extraordinary abilities during his time in the army. Sensing Guo's desire to murder him, Wen secretly left the army and settled down at the foot of Mt. Tai, living as a butcher and wine vendor. After an encounter with a Daoist who was actually Lord Bingling in disguise, Wen decided to serve as a Daoist attendant at the Eastern Peak Temple. Here he made a statue of himself in accordance with another Daoist's advice before he transformed on the fifteenth day of the third lunar month. Due to two youngsters' trick, his appearance after transformation became very hideous and ferocious: his body became green, and two hog teeth grew in his mouth. After Wen took up a position as a Taibao, his bringing an end to a drought and, more importantly, his abjuration of temple worship

and imperial canonization brought him to the attention of the Eastern Peak Emperor, from whom he received his first promotion to the Underworld Authority in the Court of the Earth, in charge of the living and the dead.¹⁴⁴ Before long, he met Zhang Xujing 張虛靖, the 30th Heavenly Master, who requested a position for him to take charge of Earth Spirits and bestowed upon him the Rites of Earth Spirits. Henceforth, Wen successfully assisted several Heavenly Masters in vanquishing a variety of evil forces, and he himself also gained power by virtue of the battles. From then on, Wen Qiong became famous for his efficacy in slaying demons and supporting justice. The Rites of Earth Spirits also spread widely, though some people considered them to be an inferior form of orthodox rites.¹⁴⁵

As is routine with most deities, Wen Qiong received more than one title during his divine career, namely Taibao (Grand Guardian 太保), Great Emissary and Grand Guardian Who Supports the Statutes and Assists the Spiritual,¹⁴⁶ Inspector of the Four Seas and Supervisor of the Nine Continents,¹⁴⁷ Grand Guardian Manifesting Valiance and Grandeur Who Supports the Statutes and Assists the Spiritual.¹⁴⁸ Heavenly Master Zhang Xujing assigned him to be the God of Earth Spirits, under the command of Jade Purity and the Officer of Numinous Treasure Who Stands in Waiting and Protects.¹⁴⁹ All the above titles were conferred on him by his Daoist superiors. However, according to this hagiography, he did receive an imperial title “Grand General of Manifesting Virtue”¹⁵⁰ during his early period of transformation. Interestingly, it is from this title that Wen tried not to honor that we can see the prelude of Wen’s common title of “Marshal,” whereas those granted within the Daoist system directly point to his function of protecting and inspecting.

Conflicts between Daoism and Buddhism are common scenes in this hagiography. Some Buddhist demons are said to have done great harm to the people (the King Jialou and the Teaching of the Three Altars to be discussed in the next chapter). Thunder Rites are employed by Marshal Wen together with his Rites of Earth Spirits in order to vanquish these evil forces.

¹⁴⁴ DZ780:3a

¹⁴⁵ Ibid:10b

¹⁴⁶ Ibid:5b

¹⁴⁷ Ibid:10a

¹⁴⁸ Ibid:12b

¹⁴⁹ Ibid:4b

¹⁵⁰ Ibid:2b

In the addenda, an anecdote seems to suggest another explanation of the origin of Marshal Wen. It tells that Wen previously served as a deity of the Eastern Peak. One day, the Emperor of the North sent thousands of epidemic poisons to the Eastern Peak Emperor and ordered him to spread these poisons to the secular world to punish evildoers. Wen Qiong was assigned by the Eastern Peak Emperor to carry out this task. Afraid of hurting the innocent, Wen swallowed the poison. As a result, he became a big, ferocious demon.¹⁵¹ Moved by his self-sacrifice, the Emperor of the North forgave his dereliction of duty, appointing him to assist the Dark Emperor in eliminating demons and ghosts: the connection between him and Zhenwu is thus made. Unlike Marshal Deng whose blood drinking habit persisted after he entered the Daoist bureaucracy, Marshal Wen tried everything to move away from blood offerings and temple worship, and even the hagiography's editor Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾 expurgated him by moving this anecdote into the usually unimportant addendum.

Concluding Remarks:

The cases of the Black Killer and Zhenwu exemplify the production of "high" Daoist martial deities, who rank high not only in the Daoist divine hierarchy but also at the secular court. During the process of creating martial deities, not only Daoist priests, but also the state served as a guiding hand. The Black Killer was worshipped as the divine patron of the Song Empire, ranking at the top of the Four Saints. Zhenwu was believed to be reincarnated from a cosmic existence and closely related to Lord Lao, the divine patriarch of Daoism. His emperor-like image and later title of Dark Emperor are straightforward expressions of his superior status. In fact, the intimate relationship between the state and the deity is a win-win situation: the latter's orthodox reputation is promoted through imperial sanctions, while the former receives divine power and the heavenly mandate to launch violence. The famous Jingnan 靖難 Usurpation in 1399 is a case in point.

¹⁵¹ Ibid: (*Buyi*) 1.1b

On the other hand, the cases of Marshal Deng and Marshal Wen illustrate a style of making “low” Daoist martial deities, who remains at the margin of the Daoist system and develops from medium-based local cults. Their inferior status is usually explained as the result of their previous transgressions of eating human flesh (Marshal Deng) and killing livestock (Marshal Wen). Whether or not they received imperial support remains to be discovered while they apparently lack any noble cosmic origins. Appearing ferociously, both of them were direct enforcers to get rid of evils with violent approaches such as the Thunder Rites.

Yet, it is not to say that these two levels of warrior gods are distinctively separated. The social environment and religious background from which they grew to prominence to a large extent decided their close association with local society which then endowed them with more or less shamanistic features: the Black Killer sometimes possessed a eunuch to convey his messages; Zhenwu showed up in a medium-like appearance during ritual performances, with hair disheveled and feet bare; Marshal Deng should be worshipped with animal blood; and Marshal Wen involved in the Rites of Summoning and Interrogation 考召法 which was believed to be a cooperative product by Daoism and popular religion. All of them share the title of “general” or “marshal” and are invoked during rituals along with Thunder Rites or similar techniques—usually violent. Accompanying the absorption of some medium-based practices and the remolding of local deities, especially those whose origins were blood-related, into Daoist warrior gods, the increasing interest in violence in local society penetrated through the established Daoist traditions from the Song and beyond. The concern of violence has much to do exorcism which could date back to as early as the pre-Han times when the oldest known manual of Chinese exorcism was discovered among the archaeological materials of Shuihudi 睡虎地 of Hubei. The manual proposed a universal concept of exorcism that anyone can do at home, with whatever at hand, and requiring the help of neither a shaman nor a qualified specialist in demonism.¹⁵² In succeeding dynasties, Daoist demonology grew into a system by which we see the early Heavenly Master collection *Nüqing Statutes of Demons* 女青鬼律 (*Nüqing Guilü*) which provides the names of all manners of spirits and demons that would possibly haunt people. It is urged that by reciting the names of the potential undoers, people could easily and successfully avoid to be haunted. The

¹⁵² Christine Mollier, “Visions of Evil: Demonology and orthodoxy in early Daoism”, ed., Benjamin Penny, *Daoism in history: essays in honour of Liu Ts'un-yan* (Routledge, 2006), p.75

fear towards the dead escalated with the importing Buddhist hellish idea of netherworld—the Chinese original description of underworlds like the Yellow Springs and Mt. Tai credited them to be somewhat desirable destinations.¹⁵³ Solutions were wanted when people started to fear the invisible including the abandoned ancestors who joined the unquiet subterranean demons hordes to harm the living. Subsequently, the rule of evil fighting evil provides the solutions: it opens an access to demons who wish to have their fate changed and who in turn help suppress the intransigent. According to the rule, a demon does not face a dead end but a choice: either to give up his independent existence as an evil being to take on the more subservient but certainly nobler role of soldier of the Way, or to retain his evil freedom and accept the risk of being annihilated by his former partners. By the first choice, they would be able to join the ranks of the Daoist divine hierarchy although they might stay at the margin. The marginality prevents their promotion to higher position to a certain degree but, on the other hand, enables them to become intercessors between the two worlds. As a result, some of the Daoist divine generals are virtually sublimated from the terrible demons who were often impressive military chiefs in their lifetime and were, in the world of the dead, the leaders of huge armies of demon soldiers, of subordinates who caused countless and often fatal injuries. The more exceptional the fate of an individual, the more it is possible he will change into a powerful creature after his death. The rule of evil fighting evil, or violence met by violence in a more direct way, thus proves to be an effective and economical means in exorcism since the dark world turns to be a repertoire of dark vanquishers.

¹⁵³ Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (California, 2007), p.37

Chapter Two The Cult of Marshal Wen in the *Daoist Canon*

This chapter is solely devoted to analysis of the cult of Marshal Wen in a series of texts from the *Daoist Canon*. While the focus is on the *Hagiography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of the Earth Spirits* 地祇上將溫太保傳 (*Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* hereafter referred to as *Wen Taibao zhuan*) attributed to a Daoist named Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾, the disciple of Liu Yu 劉玉, discussion will be developed from another three texts in the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 namely the *Rites of Earth Spirits* 地祇法 (*Diqi fa*),¹⁵⁴ the *Marshal Wen's Grand Rites of Earth Spirits* 地祇溫元帥大法 (*Diqi Wen Yuanshuai dafa*, hereafter referred to as the *Grand Rites*),¹⁵⁵ and the *Secret Rites of Evocation and Interrogation of the Eastern Peak Wen Taibao* 東嶽溫太保考召秘法 (*Dongyue Wen Taibao kaozhao mifa*, hereafter referred to as the *Secret Rites*).¹⁵⁶ These three supplemental texts to the *Wen Taibao zhuan* will provide further evidence about the Daoist determination of its nonstop divine mission to establish the orthopraxy and suppress the heteropraxy. In addition, we will also look into the tendency to blend inner alchemy and exorcism exemplified by the integration of the viscera and the deities. By doing this, I will pull Marshal Wen out of the text and imbed him in the complex network of history, religion, and society. One point deserving of mention beforehand is that these texts are produced by a Daoist hand, so the Daoist point-of-view permeates the whole narrative. In other words, every judgment within the text is Daoist.

1. Authorial Background

The *Rites of Earth Spirits* is comprised of four parts, each entitled “Rites of Earth Spirits” 地祇法 dictated by Liu Yu, the Fire Bell Immortal Official of the Scripture and Register of Five Thunders 五雷經籙火鈴仙官劉玉; “Additional Discourses on the Rites of Earth Spirits” 地祇緒餘論; “Epilogue” 後跋; and “Facts of Liu Qingqing” 劉清卿事實 recorded by Huang Gongjin, the disciple of Liu. It serves as an annotation to the *Wen Taibao zhuan* and the two scriptures of

¹⁵⁴ DFYH 253

¹⁵⁵ DFYH 255&256

¹⁵⁶ DFYH 254

Marshal Wen. The biographies of both Liu and Huang are also found in this text, as well as their additional explanations to the "Rites of Earth Spirits".

According to the text, Liu Yu (fl.1258), *alias* Qingqing, moved to Fengcheng 豐城, Jiangxi, with his father from their native place in the North 河朔. Giving up an official career before the age of twenty 弱冠, he devoted himself to Daoist practice. At the beginning, he practiced a variety of rites such as the Rites of the Powerful Official 靈官, of Fengdu 酆都, and of Possession and Interrogation of Earth Spirits 地祇考附, which all proved to be efficacious. Later on, a certain Lu Yanghao 盧養浩 arrived in Jiangxi, transmitted these rites to Xu Hongji 徐洪季, who then passed them on to Liu Qingqing. Thereafter, Liu followed Lu traveling around, and the latter passed away in Xu's house. However, his body was still warm, and no one dared to have him encoffined. Three days later, Lu suddenly woke up and saw no one around but Liu, to whom he then transmitted the Shenxiao Independent Rites of the Celestial *Ding* of Golden Fire 神霄中獨體金火天丁. Liu promised to save him from Fengdu by sending marshal gods so that he would not be imprisoned in the dark world.

Huang Gongjin's experience of practicing the Way was even more tortuous. He was forced by his father to practice Buddhism and believed that the Three Teachings all led to the same goal. But he was once fell seriously ill and was not healed until he started to learn Daoist talismans. During the reign of Song Lizong 宋理宗 (r.1224-1264), Liu Yu transmitted the Rites of Earth Spirits to Huang Gongjin. It is evident that both Liu and Huang belonged to the Shenxiao sect that flourished at the end of Huizong's reign under the influence of Lin Lingsu. After the Jingkan War 靖康之難, Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093-1153), one of the Shenxiao initiators and disciple of Lin Lingsu 林靈素, returned to his hometown of Nanfeng 南豐 in Jiangxi, where he continued to transmit the Shenxiao rites.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the names of Liu Yu (different from the one of the Jingming 淨明 sect) and of Huang Gongjin are to be found nowhere else but in the *Hagiography of Wen Taibao* and the three *DFHY* texts.

2. The Rites of Earth Spirits

¹⁵⁷ Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo dao jiao shi* (Sichuan, 1993), *juan* 3, p.115

In regard of the Rites of Earth Spirits, both Liu and Huang held personal interpretations. According to Liu, there were more than several dozen grades 數十階 of the Rites of Earth Spirits, more than ten of which were managed by General Wen. Therefore, practitioners easily became confused as to which one to practice. When transmitted to the Perfected Official Lü Xizhen 呂真官希真 it enjoyed popularity in the Jiangzhe area and was employed in almost every ritual of prayers for rain and exorcism. Among the talismans, the one of the Heavenly Stems bing and ding give birth to a demon 丙丁生鬼符 was the most special, so it was best applied independently. Under the command of the Supreme Purity, the Earth Spirits were the Guardians of Numinous Treasure Who Stands in Waiting and Protects, protecting the teaching of the Dark Emperor.

Among all the Earth Spirits Wen Qiong was the most vigorous and valorous. Liu Yu pointed out the connection between Wen Qiong and internal organs: the kidneys and the gall bladder. Besides, his worries about heterodox versions of the rites being widespread are also evident. He indicated that the reason former masters refused to transmit the rites to others was the concern that the ease of communication with the gods would lead to ill-considered divulgence and disrespect. Additionally, those who abused the rites would be punished without even knowing about it. Huang Gongjin agreed by saying that since varieties of people established themselves as masters and transmitted different incantations and charms, it resulted in the number of those who learned increasing whereas those who truly were accomplished decreased. Therefore, he composed the Additional Discourse on the Rites of Earth Spirits in order to discuss solutions with people of like mind. He insisted that if people kept their words and behavior correct, Marshal Wen would spontaneously assist them, the divine water would reveal its efficacy, and no crime records would be found in the Dark World. Furthermore, he also warned those who practiced the Rites of Earth Spirits to redouble their efforts to preserve their integrity lest the impartial Earth Spirits bring retribution to them. One of the most serious aspects of practicing a false tradition is employing an unorthodox martial deity, because some demonic gods might seize the position as the martial divinities and unscrupulously cause harm. Huang continued to rectify the way people wrongly practiced the various gang 罡, spells 咒, and talismans 符. Finally, he emphasized again the importance of concentration during practice. In the Epilogue, he explained the reason of composing Wen's hagiography and the Additional Discourse was to seek confirmation

from practitioners of the true Way on his concern regarding rampant heterodox rites. In order to further confirm their statement of rampant heterodox rites, let us now turn our attention to the two scriptures devoted to Marshal Wen.

The *DFHY* *juan* 254 is *the Secret Rites*, the opening paragraph of which is a short hagiographic record entitled the Preface of the Spiritual Text 靈文序 and dedicated to Marshal Wen. This short paragraph tells a distinct life story of Wen Qiong from the *Wen Taibao zhuan*. Native of Pingyang 平陽, Wenzhou, Wen grew up to become a man of extraordinary appearance. Indifferent to secular affairs, he was erudite in a great diversity of knowledge including the transformations of *yin* and *yang*. He did not marry in order to keep his “natural perfection” intact. Later on, he was informed by a divinity of being assigned the position of Taibao and commander of divine armies in the Eastern Peak. Following the divine instructions, Wen set up himself a statue before the Eastern Peak Palace and visited the Eastern Peak Emperor every day and night. One day, on spot of seeing the statue changed into the appearance of green face, red hair, long tusks, and golden eyes, he immediately transformed by the side. Once, Heavenly Master Ye of Western Shu 西蜀 came to borrow the army from the Eastern Peak to catch plague demons there. Wen showed up to express his wish to arrest the demons and save the sick. Approved, Wen went to the Shu region together with Heavenly Master Ye and with his assistance, the people there recovered within less than a month. Wen expressed afterward the oath to assist all the judges under heaven to catch haunting demons and to cure illness. Master Ye thus transmitted the Rites of Wen around the world. This short hagiographic text, however, seemed to indicate an authorship other than Huang Gongjin. The historical background of this text remains unclear but the reference to Ye Fashan as Heavenly Master points to as early as the Song, during which period Ye’s identity as a recipient of the Rites of Orthodox Unity 正一法 was confirmed in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 and a mid-thirteenth century Daoist text entitled “A Hagiography of Ye, the Perfected, of the Tang” 唐葉真人傳.¹⁵⁸

The *DFHY* *juan* 256 and *juan* 257 together constituted the *Grand Rites*. The primary master of these rites, corresponding to the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, is the Perfected Zhang Jixian 張繼

¹⁵⁸ See: *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 26, “Ye Fashan”; DZ 779:4b; about this hagiography, see Boltz, *Survey*, pp.96-7

先, the 30th Heavenly Master Xujing, who was regarded as the crucial figure in the dissemination of the Rites of Earth Spirits. Nonetheless, it seems that the *Grand Rites* follows the basic line of the *Wen Taibao zhuan* while the *Secret Rites* is a collateral series. Already included in the *Daoist Canon*, it is thus improper to identify the latter as heterodox rites, yet the comparison of the two further confirms the concerns of Liu and Huang about the numerous versions of the rites scattered under heaven.

Different from the *Rites of Earth Spirits*, which constituted the historical background of Marshal Wen's cult, the elements of inner cultivation and Buddhism of the two scriptures make them the epitome of the development of the Shenxiao movement from the end of the Southern Song to early Yuan dynasty. Flourishing in the Song dynasty, the Shenxiao movement developed its doctrine and rites through the integration of a variety of elements, such as the organized Daoist Shangqing and Lingbao traditions, Tantric Buddhism, and local cults. Growing in the ongoing interaction between the state, institutional Daoist movements, religious traditions indigenous to south China, and Buddhist influences, the Shenxiao movement took on a multiple appearance especially distinguished by the worship of popular local deities and the performance of Thunder Rites. As mentioned earlier, when Wang Wenqing returned to Jiangxi after the Jingkang Incident, although the influence of the Shenxiao movement began to decline at court, its lasting impact in local society was continued by a group of Daoist Ritual Masters in south China. After Khubilai khan 忽必烈 (r.1260-1294) granted the Celestial Masters control over all "Daoist" movements in south China in 1273 prior to his final conquest of the region,¹⁵⁹ the Shenxiao movement was eventually absorbed into Celestial Master Taoism. From then on, heavenly masters began to assume a role in the Shenxiao movement. Nevertheless, unlike institutionalized Daoisms such as Quanzhen and Zhengyi, Shenxiao Daoism turned out to be a hodgepodge of the many local religious traditions. Shenxiao masters of the Song did not appear to have been ordained as Daoist priests, nor did they honor the First Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵 as their patriarch. Furthermore, most rites performed by Shenxiao ritual masters adopted possession techniques

¹⁵⁹ Paul Katz, "Shenxiao", ed., Fabrizio Pregadio, *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (Routledge, 2008), p.889. Qing Xitai suggests that it was not until Zhang Zongyan 張宗演 was summoned by Khubilai in 1276 that Heavenly Master Daoism began to extend its control over the other Daoist movements in south China, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* (Sichuan, 1993), p.285-86

from the traditions of local spirit mediums.¹⁶⁰ This historical context thus allowed an easy understanding of the mixed nature of the above two rites. Going through these two, the evolution of Shenxiao movement and the all-inclusive feature of the Shenxiao rites are typically embodied in the following three aspects.

In the first place, the practice of inner alchemy and exorcistic ritual are employed in combination. Originally, the adepts of inner alchemy were individual practitioners following a master or certain texts and did not belong to any particular group of Daoists. After the establishment of the Quanzhen order, new groups and schools centering on inner alchemy emerged all over the country, especially the Nanzong 南宗 lineage initiated by Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (984-1082) and brought to fruition by Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1229). This lineage heavily influenced other Daoist traditions in south China including the Shenxiao movement and extensively implemented its basic elements: essence 精, pneuma 氣, and spirit 神. The mutual transformations between these three function as the primary force of one's inner cultivation by refining essence into pneuma, which is then refined into spirit, which is in turn refined and reverted into Emptiness.¹⁶¹ Included in the Secret Rites is a Grand Protector's Secret Rites of Integrating Energy of Primary Heaven 太保先天合炁秘法 by practicing which the inner energy would transform into different deities like the Dark Emperor or the Grand Protector Wen according to the needs of the practitioner. Moreover, one single Grand Protector Wen could multiply first to five and then to twenty and lastly to thirty while his four generals first to twenty and then to a hundred and lastly to two hundred and forty.¹⁶² During the practice, meditation is highly emphasized. The practitioner sits still with eyes closed so as to accumulate his spirit while at the same time a picture of thirty-two heavens of the five directions--green east, white west, red south, dark north, and yellow middle--is formed inside his body. The prime spirit travels from the upper field to the middle, going forth from the eastern eight heavens and travelling through all the heavens to visit the thirty-two emperors.¹⁶³ The practice of inner alchemy, however, is more frequently seen in

¹⁶⁰ Paul Katz, "Shenxiao", ed., Fabrizio Pregadio, *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (Routledge, 2008), p.891
¹⁶¹ Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, "Neidan", ed., Fabrizio Pregadio, *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (Routledge, 2008), pp.762-66
¹⁶² DFHY 254:24b
¹⁶³ Ibid:21b-22a

the Grand Rites. In the opening section it states, "Thirty-six in heaven, thirty-six on earth;¹⁶⁴ to make Marshal Wen efficacious, the Huangpo¹⁶⁵ wu should be removed first".¹⁶⁶ The connection between inner cultivation and internal viscera is also systematically presented as the kidney energy entering the heart, and the throat makes a sound that carries the heart energy into the gallbladder.¹⁶⁷ Liu Yu once commented in his Rites of Earth Spirits that Wen Qiong was the essence of Eastern Dark Green, the truth of liver, and the spirit of the gallbladder.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, during the meditation, as soon as the practitioner started the inward observation, he was enabled to witness the five colors of the five viscera, reach the three heavens, and fill in the nine springs (netherworld).¹⁶⁹

Additionally, the impact of local religious traditions on the Shenxiao rites is mainly revealed through the latter's application of the possession techniques that had been widely used by spirit mediums. In both rites, the next procedure after the identification of the baleful spirit is seizing 捉, binding 縛, yoking 枷, and interrogating 拷 the spirit, operations to be achieved primarily by the four celestial *ding* 天丁 of the four directions.¹⁷⁰ These four steps, according to Judith Boltz, are also seen in the *DFHY* *juan* 134 to *juan* 145 the Great Rites of the Thunderclap of the Perfected Thunder of the Grand Monad 太乙真雷霹靂大法, which includes one of the most comprehensive manuals on exorcism.¹⁷¹ However, before carrying out the four steps, two other tasks are to be completed. The first is the unification of the practitioner and the divinity evoked, Marshal Wen in our case, which could be achieved through the inner cultivation discussed earlier. After reciting the right incantation, the practitioner expels two energies of red and green to form a rainbow-shaped bridge leading to the gate of the Eastern Peak of Mt. Tai. As soon as the Grand Protector appears from the heavy yellow clouds, the practitioner inhales and absorbs (the Grand Protector) through his nose and mouth, (the Grand Protector) descending from the bridge to the Spiritual Green Palace of the Gallbladder. After a moment's combination, (the Grand Protector)

¹⁶⁴ DZ 1307:1.9b

¹⁶⁵ Huangpo usually refers to "mentality 意", Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* (Sichuan, 1993), p.160; or concretely refers to spleen, see Su Shi, "Yu Sun Yungou shu"

¹⁶⁶ DFHY 255:1b

¹⁶⁷ DFHY 255:2b

¹⁶⁸ DFHY 253:2a

¹⁶⁹ DFHY 255:6a

¹⁷⁰ DFHY 254:3a-4b

¹⁷¹ Boltz, *Taoist Rites of Exorcism* (PhD Dissertation), p.176

quickly arose, exiting from the left eye (of the practitioner), and stood amidst the yellow clouds above the incense burner. (The practitioner) then took another two energies of red and green, exhaling them onto the Grand Protector. Suddenly radiance sparks and the Grand Protector exhibits his divine power. (In the end,) the Grand Protector in heaven also exists in my (the practitioner's) body, as well as in the altar.¹⁷² Another spell reads as: separate your celestial essence to integrate with my spirit; separate your celestial energy to integrate with my divine power; by their combination my spirit becomes most efficacious; I your appearance and your overwhelming power.¹⁷³ The other step is possession. In other words, the baleful spirit will be forced to possess a spirit medium so as to be interrogated for his identity. The term "possession" 附身 has been mentioned many times in both rites, and one of the scenes is described as: a moment later, (the practitioner) stirs up the ashes with a fan onto the sick body. Once the body begins to shake, (the practitioner) orders the left and right to report to the Grand Protector to bind the possessing spirit to the person and order it to give its name. If the divine judge arrives by himself, (the practitioner) has only to burn the talisman inside the incense burner and place another one on the head of the sick person, spouting water on him and shouting an order to the spirit to attach itself quickly. This never fails.¹⁷⁴ Only after the soul of the sick person leaves could the baleful spirit come to take possession.¹⁷⁵

The use of child mediums,¹⁷⁶ which has been thoroughly studied,¹⁷⁷ is also worth mentioning. The employment of child mediums in exorcism has long been a tradition of Tantric Buddhism while "the unity of practitioner and divinity has been a defining feature of Esoteric Buddhism and a mark of the extent to which even Daoist therapeutic rituals had become 'tantrified' in the Song."¹⁷⁸ Besides the above mentioned two passages, another evidence indicating the influence of Tantric Buddhism is the ubiquitous Sanskrit incantations among various Daoist spells. Unlike the *Hagiography of Wen Taibao*, in which Buddhism and local cults are the frequent targets of the newly forming Daoist orthodoxy, the hybrid practices of these Rites of Earth

¹⁷² DFHY 254:20a-b

¹⁷³ DFHY 255:3a

¹⁷⁴ DFHY 254:7b-8a

¹⁷⁵ DFHY 255:12a

¹⁷⁶ DFHY 255:3a

¹⁷⁷ See: Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu, 2001), pp.115-52

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.125

Spirits probably provide a more accurate picture of the historical convergence of the three religious traditions propelled by a fierce competition in local society.

Hagiography, bearing little or no connection with real history, proves to be an autonomous literary style imbedded with subjective orientations of an individual or a group of people. The *Hagiography of the Earth Spirit Grand Protector Wen*, according to Davis, is “an absolute masterpiece of Daoist revisionism”¹⁷⁹ in which a self-respecting local hero struggled to become a minor clerk in the Daoist bureaucracy by effacing the traces of local religious traditions while at the same time acting as an iconoclast of Buddhism and state authority.

3. *Hagiography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of the Earth Spirits*

On the basis of the above mentioned background of the composition of the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, we are expecting an evolution of Marshal Wen with a diversity of participants varying from religious tradition to tradition. As such, the following discussion will first build on the deconstruction of the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, which then allows extensive insights into the paradigm shift in the Song-Yuan Daoism. The main reason to drop the comparison style between different hagiographic texts of Wen Qiong, as adopted in Katz’s study, is a concern of lacking a foundation to allow the comparison to really function. Although the stele inscription of Song Lian and the *Beiyong ji* as well as the *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* provide different interpretations of Marshal Wen, these narratives are too narrow to present a comprehensive view of the evolution of Marshal Wen’s cult: the first was dedicated to a specific construction; the second, whose basic aim is entertainment, tells us little about the cult as such; and the third, entitled *Deity Encyclopedia of Three Teachings*, spared limited space for each subject included. On the contrary, the lengthy *Wen Taibao zhuan*, telling stories in chronological order and stating the attitudes toward the Three Teachings, must be given priority if our aim is to study the paradigm shifting of Daoism during the Song and Yuan. Therefore, when discussing the other-written hagiographic texts of Marshal Wen, the focus is the life background of the authors instead of the contents.

3.1 The demonic origin of Marshal Wen

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p.279

As described earlier, the ferocious outlook seems to betray Wen Qiong's origin as a demon. Wenzhou, the native place of Wen Qiong, is also the place where his cult enjoys popularity. The character for his surname Wen 溫 is identical to that of Wenzhou (Wenzhou 溫州) city and homophonous with the character for plague (wen 瘟). Based on previous studies, it seems that there is a tradition of tracing origins of popular local gods to demonic existence. The origin of the Five Emperors (Wudi 五帝) in Fuzhou 福州 as studied by Szonyi can be traced back to the Five Commissioners of Epidemics in the *Nüqing Statute of Demons*.¹⁸⁰ The *wangye* 王爺 (Royal Lords) in contemporary Taiwan as studied by Katz continues to be welcomed as the gods to dispel plague as well as the target to be driven away in exorcistic rituals.¹⁸¹ Additionally, both Wen Qiong and Deng Bowen established connections with the fifth day of the fifth month, the traditional Duanwu festival, the major event of which was to ward off plague. In the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, he received an imperial decree on that day after he transformed while both the *Stele Inscription* and the *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* told that he was born on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month during the Tang and the Han, respectively. This detail thus reinforced the imagination of link between Marshal Wen and the fear of plague.

Recent study encounters an item in the second *juan* of the *Nüqing Statute of Demons* which directly points to Wen's origin as a demonic existence. It reads: "The well spirit is named Qiong".¹⁸² Evidence shows that while the surname of Wen Qiong varies in different texts—in the *Beiyong ji* his surname is Xiao 蕭 and in the contemporary collection *Wenzhou jiusu shiliao* 溫州舊俗史料 it has been changed to Ling 凌¹⁸³—the given name Qiong remains all the time. If this is indeed the origin of the god, it would also provide an explanation for the many tales about Marshal Wen related to wells, in the *Beiyong ji*, the addendum to Huang Gongjin's text, and so forth. The ulterior motive of Huang Gongjin's treatment of these stories as an addenda section, interior to the main text, is probably his attempt to show the audience what is and is not orthodox. In other words, the main text of the hagiography has been collated by Huang Gongjin to express the values appreciated by the orthodox Daoist System. Any story pertinent to this purpose will be

¹⁸⁰ Michael A. Szonyi, *Ming Qing Fujian wu di xin yang yan jiu zi liao hui bian* (Hong Kong, 2006)

¹⁸¹ Paul R. Katz, *Taiwan de Wangye xin yang* (Taibei, 1997)

¹⁸² DZ 790: 2.3

¹⁸³ See: *Wenzhou jiusu shiliao*

retained and tailored to serve the narrative while the others which show relations with local religion will be demoted into the addendum and even abandoned. Such a propensity of the collator Huang once again to a certain degree suggests the tension between Daoism, local religion, and Buddhism.

3.2 The Religious Background of Marshal Wen's Cult

3.2.1 Daoism and popular religion

After Wen escaped from the army, he made a living as a butcher and wine monger at the foot of Mt. Tai. His secular career, however, became an obstacle to his development into a divinity, according to Lord Bingling's instructions, because being a butcher is connected with killing, which is forbidden by the first of the five Buddhist precepts,¹⁸⁴ also adopted in Daoism. Lü Pengzhi in his *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang* further suggests that the ban on using wine and meat during rituals had already been a tradition of early Heavenly Master Daoism.¹⁸⁵

At the very beginning, the chief rival of early Daoism was neither Buddhism nor Confucianism, but the often neglected "nameless religion" of the people, which was usually embodied by scores of local deities and invoked by hundreds of practitioners. In local society, the spirit-mediums were widely consulted by not only the illiterate but by men of power and education, even most of the Tang emperors before Dezong (r. 780-805).¹⁸⁶ Nonetheless, local persecutions accompanied an imperial order to destroy "improper/licentious" temples (*yinci*) was always an ongoing project; further repressions are reported from the eleventh century, and the spread of neo-Confucian orthodoxy in later periods would leave no room for support of mediums. Throughout the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, the abjuration of blood sacrifice is one of the most frequent topics. It seems that the author was anxiously emphasizing the importance of refusing the blood offerings often deemed as one of the defining features of shamanism. Strickmann once pointed out that "Rationality and harmony stepped out as an otherworldly, unpredictable, supramundane

¹⁸⁴ The five precepts include no killing, no stealing, no lasciviousness, no lies, and no drinking

¹⁸⁵ Lü Pengzhi, *Tangqian daojiao yishi shigang* (Beijing, 2008), pp.14-16

¹⁸⁶ Donald S. Sutton, "Shamanism in the eyes of Ming and Qing", elites, eds., Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek, *Heterodoxy in late Imperial China* (Honolulu, 2004), p.210

being stepped in... the gods would be coaxed and cajoled not only by wild music and lascivious dancing but also by copious animal sacrifices.”¹⁸⁷ In opposition to the popular cults of local society, an orthodox Daoist institution was established to provide anthropomorphic transformations of the pure and primordial Dao in different forms, that is to say, various sorts of deities who originate from the Dao. The first step was to unmask the so-called gods worshipped by the people to reveal their true identity as demons. Although some of the Daoist texts do not completely exclude the “blood” element—the Marshal Deng in the *Daofa huiyuan*¹⁸⁸—some even promote them to regional and even national gods—the heretical Wutong and their variant Wuxian for example, which is one of the novelties of the Daoism from the Song onward,¹⁸⁹ the blood sacrifice has still constantly been treated negatively by the Daoist community so as to differentiate itself from popular religion. Likewise, any local cult or deity wishing to join the Daoist System must be divorced from blood sacrifice as the first step.

Throughout the storytelling, Wen Qiong refused several times temple sacrifices from the populace, although he graced them by various merits such ending a drought and eliminating heterodox cults. However, another question arose when the still low-ranking Wen communicated with the populace through possession, which was a technique frequently employed by spirit-mediums. The first performance of possession was shown when Wen Qiong made a villager named Wang Jiu'er possessed in order to refuse a temple sacrifice. In fact, the author included several anecdotes in which some Daoist rites and techniques of local cults were applied in combination. For example, the Rites of Summoning and Investigation (*kaozhao fa* 考召法) and the child-possession are used by a certain Lu Yanghao 盧養浩 in Jiangxi. These rites are usually employed by spirit-mediums or ritual masters and even some lay Buddhists.¹⁹⁰ Particularly, the Rite of Summoning and Investigation by Possession practiced by Lu Yanghao in front of the Buddhist temple with three entranced youths is hardly distinguishable from the Teaching of the Three Altars originated from Tantric Buddhism. In fact, since the Song, it becomes very difficult to resolve the problem between Daoism and Buddhism of exactly who was influencing whom,

¹⁸⁷ Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford, 2002), p. 3

¹⁸⁸ DFHY: 57

¹⁸⁹ John Lagerwey, *China: a religious state* (Hong Kong, 2010), pp.35-45

¹⁹⁰ Davis, pp.115-52

“which is perhaps symptomatic of the extent to which the practices of Daoist and Buddhist *fashi* were already in an advanced stage of convergence.”¹⁹¹

Nevertheless, the power of Marshal Wen grows as his name is reported to all city gods, one kind of the most popular local deities and the judge of the Dark World to whom most people report the injustice they encounter. Flourished in the Tang, city gods was not officially accepted by the state until 898 in which year the first grant of a noble title to a city god occurred.¹⁹² Changes of demography, economy and newly emergent social strata largely contributed to the prevalence of city gods' veneration throughout the Song dynasty. The temples of city gods were frequently located near government offices or even housed in the very buildings which had once been yamens.¹⁹³ The worship of city gods is so widespread in local society that even police and court officials are considered to be their earthly parallel. They have long been one of the leading deities during judicial rituals (others include the Eastern Peak Emperor and the Bodhisattva Dizang 地藏王菩薩),¹⁹⁴ establishing a direct connection with the populace through proceeding local lawsuits. The capability of city gods to intervene in earthly affairs implies that Wen Qiong, if wishing to have a prosperous career, has to cooperate with these divine judges. From another point of view, this also attests to the close relationship between city gods and Daosim.¹⁹⁵ The spreading of plague is a common means to punish evildoers after celestial inspections. The city god is the one who directly carries out this task since he is the direct administrator of the earthly world. The story in the *Beiyong ji* in which the earth god was about to pour poison into a well before being prevented by Xiao Qiong also suggests the custom of spreading plague through an earth god, the parallel of the city god in countryside.

While Marshal Wen developed a partnership with city gods, another local deity which even grew into national cult notwithstanding, the Wutong, fell into the catalogue of Wen's attacking target. The cult of Wutong, according to Cedzich, following the Song court's recognition

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p.143

¹⁹² David Johnson, "The City-God Cults of T'ang and Sung China," *HJAS*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Dec., 1985), p.400

¹⁹³ Ibid, p.440

¹⁹⁴ Paul Katz, *Divine Justice: Religion and the development of Chinese legal culture* (Routledge, 2009), p.5

¹⁹⁵ Deng Siyu 邓嗣禹 pointed out in his article "Investigation of City Gods" 城隍考 that the intimate relationship between city gods and Daoism is reflected in four aspects. First, most city god temples are hosted by Daoists; second, during Daoist rituals, practitioners usually send official documents 牒 to city gods; third, many supervisors and colleagues of city gods belong to the Daoist bureaucracy; and last, there are scriptures of city gods included in the *Daoist Canon*. See Deng Siyu, "Chenghuang kao", *Shixue nianbao* 2.2 (1935), pp.270-72.

of the Wutong sanctuary in Wuyuan (Jiangxi) in 1109, split into two separate lines: the gods of the newly canonized cult in Wuyuan, under the name Wuxian or Five Manifestations, soon rose to regional and even national status in the Ming dynasty while the old Wutong, supported by a following of shamans and mediums, continued to be worshipped all over south China. However, the state recognition does not guarantee recognition from others. The cult of Wuxian does not receive acceptance from the Daoist community which, instead, developed one of their heavenly generals, Marshal Ma, into both a powerful antagonist and an orthodox image of those “demonic gods”.¹⁹⁶ This process resulted in a complete fusion of both sides, and in the integration of the once-rejected spirits into the Taoist pantheon. During the storytelling of the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, Wutong was constantly treated as a heterodox cult and was defeated several times by Marshal Wen: the Xu Wen 許溫 and Hao Bian 郝邊, devotees of the Teaching of the Three Altars, once prevented the troops sent by the Five Peaks by means of the Five Manifestations; Huangguang of the Five Manifestations temple in Chizhou once haunted a woman and caused her death. In both cases, it is not Wutong but Wuxian, the imperial sanctioned worship, was portrayed as heterodox cult, further implying the Daoist intention to set itself apart from other religious practice.

3.2.2 The involvement of Tantric Buddhism

Tantric Buddhism came to flourish during the middle period of the Tang dynasty. After the great suppression of Buddhism during the reign of Tang Wuzong (r. 840-846), Tantric Buddhism began to develop in the Song in combination with a group of new Daoist lineages called Ritual Master (*fashi* 法師) in local society.¹⁹⁷ As Bokenkamp repeatedly emphasized the point of viewing the “Buddhist ideas” in some Daoist texts as responses to Buddhism, rather than evidence of the influence of Buddhism,¹⁹⁸ we will see in the following storytelling that in what way Tantric Buddhism was selectively adopted and against by the Daoist body.

¹⁹⁶ Cedzich, pp.180-92

¹⁹⁷ Davis, pp.115-52

¹⁹⁸ Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (California, 2007), p.11

Above all, the iconography of Marshal Wen Moreover, described as horrible with “red hair, green face, golden eyes and protruding fangs”,¹⁹⁹ as observed in most descriptions of him in all kinds of narratives, is more that of a demon than of a god. His ferocious outlook and green clothes, and even the weapons he holds, are much the same presented in his hagiographies. But different texts offer different explanations of his image. The author’s explanation here is that a trick was played on him by two youngsters who later on became his subordinates. The image of Wen is in fact suggestive of the *yakṣa* (*yecha* 夜叉), a Buddhist spirit of hideous appearance and dual nature, who both eats and protects humans. Two separate sections with stories of the *yakṣa* are recorded in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, one of which is described as having shining eyes and sharp teeth, the whole body in green.²⁰⁰ Another anecdote relates that the *yakṣas* often bully those who eat beef but pay respect to those who are loyal and filial and who comply with the Daoist and Buddhist precepts.²⁰¹ With the development of Tantrism, not only its rites and rituals such as the Rites of the Three Altars 三壇法 and the Avalambana Ritual 施食法 are introduced, the cults of its deities such as Ucchuṣma and Nāgārjuna were also been brought into people’s lives. Accompanying them are groups of *yakṣas* and arhats whose appearances are hideous and fierce.

The first direct confrontation between Daoism and Buddhism in this text appears in the tale of Wen Qiong fighting against a demonic deity called King Jialuo 伽羅王 in Fujian. King Jialuo here indicates the popularity of Tantric Buddhism at that moment because in accordance with the *Conversations of Bai Yuchan* 海瓊白真人語錄 by Xie Xiandao 謝顯道 of the Song, the term Jialuo is a common name used in Yoga, itself a common name for Tantrism during the Tang dynasty and beyond. Yoga deities included generals such as Tiger Jialuo, Horse Jialuo, Ox-head Luo and Golden head Luo.²⁰² Another deity similarly named King Jialou 伽嚠王 also made his appearance in the same episode. It seems that the two deities Jialuo and Jialou derive from the splitting of Jialouluo (*garuda*), or Jialiuluo, a bird-like Buddhist deity and member of the

¹⁹⁹ Translated by Katz in “Wen Ch’iung-the God of Many Faces” (1990), p. 191

²⁰⁰ *Taiping guangji*, *Yecha yi*, “Jiangnan wusheng”

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, *Yecha er*, “Qiuru”

²⁰² DZ 1307: 1.11

Buddhist Eight Divisions 八部.²⁰³ Jialouluo, as mentioned earlier as the prototype of Sire Thunder, is portrayed as a big bird of golden body and two golden wings, feeding on venomous dragons.²⁰⁴ Daoism integrated its features to have made a Daoist deity called Zhang Yuanbo 張元伯, the Divine Lord of the Rising Sun Who Controls and Commands the One Breath 一炁掌令暘穀神君, whose appearance and habit of attacking dragons extremely resemble that of Jialouluo: a beak of a phoenix, round eyes, red hair, a fleshy horn, wings in his armpits and a red body covered with golden texts and celestial letters. His feet are like dragon claws and he wears a Tianding cap on his head. He emerges sometimes from the entrance of the Dipper or swoops down to the sea to whip the dragons. When he hears a summons, he comes forthwith.²⁰⁵ Unlike the Sire Thunder, the orthodox god in charge of Thunder Sect, Zhang Yuanbo first appeared in the *Nüqing Statute of Demons* as the Demon Lord of the Southern Red Energy 南方赤炁鬼主,²⁰⁶ one of the five demon lords of the five directions, who was later evolved into a member of the Five Commissioners of Epidemics (*Wuwen shizhe* 五瘟使者) widely worshipped in Fujian area.²⁰⁷ Though not directly referred to as the plague demon lord in the hagiographic text, the King Jialou's cultic center of Fujian, where Zhang Yuanbo also enjoyed popularity as a commissioner of epidemics, and his defeat by Marshal Wen somewhat indicated Wen's connection with plague.

The battle between Marshal Wen and King Jialou took place on Mt. Sengjia 僧伽 in Sizhou 泗洲. The mountain and Sizhou here refer to the Tang Buddhist monk Sengjia, who sojourned in Sizhou (in modern Jiangsu 江蘇) during the time of Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (r.650-683). There is a hagiographic record in the *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 which reads that the Master Sengjia was the manifestation of Avalokitesvara 觀音, coming from the He country 何國 (in current Kyrgyzstan). He traveled to Sizhou, seeking for a place along the bank of the Si river 泗水 to build a monastery. As a certain Heba 賀跋 in Suzhou 宿州 (in modern Anhui 安徽) abandoned his house, the Master told him that the site was once a monastery. After digging the earth, an old plaque with the characters "Temple of Accumulating Incense 香

²⁰³ Li Zhengjue, *Fojiao baike quanshu* (Shanxi, 2007), pp.96-99

²⁰⁴ *Tianlong babu*, *Fojiao xiao baike* (Taibei, 2000), vol. 10, pp.336-40

²⁰⁵ DFHY: 83.3

²⁰⁶ DZ 790:2a-b

²⁰⁷ Michael Szonyi, *Mingqing Fujian Wudi xinyang yanjiu ziliao huibian* (Hong Kong, 2006), p.viii

積寺” was discovered, which was dated to the Southern Qi dynasty 南齊 (479-502). Besides, a golden Buddha statue was found at the same time, recognized as the Dipamkara 燃燈佛. In the second year of Zhongzong 中宗 (r.684), the Master Sengjia was invited to the capital city and accommodated in the Temple of Universal Light King 普光王寺. After his parinirvana on the third day of the third lunar month, which was the birthday of Zhenwu, an imperial decree was issued to build a tower for him inside the temple. However, a bad smell suddenly befouled the whole city. The emperor then said: send the Master back to Linhuai 臨淮. Hardly had his voiced faded, the city was immersed in an extraordinary fragrance.²⁰⁸ The connection of the King Jialou and monk Sengjia is hard to explain, probably meant to emphasize the Buddhist root of the demonic King.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the Powerful Official 靈官, a low-ranking position in the Daoist celestial bureaucracy, whose major function was to protect the Dharma 護法 and to inspect around the world 監察, was also a case of the influence of Arhat tradition. Among the devotees of the Rites of Earth Spirits, those who practiced the Way full-heartedly eventually ascended to the divine bureaucracy and took the position as Powerful Officials. In the first *juan* of the *True Record of the Dark Emperor*, the five hundred soldiers sent by the King of Pure Bliss to search for his son, the future Dark Emperor, all ended up practicing the Way and becoming Powerful Officials on Mt. Wudang.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the famous Powerful Official on Mt. Wudang—and not only there, is Powerful Officer Wang 王靈官, whose temple was built just beyond the gateway of entering the mountain and at the top of the mountain before entering the Forbidden City, and whose duty was to keep order on the mountain.²¹⁰ Another famous Powerful Officer is Officer Ma 馬靈官, also called Marshal Ma 馬元帥, the Daoist avatar of the licentious *wutong* 五通,²¹¹ whose tantricized appearance is described as having “three eyes and often six arms, as well as three heads.”²¹²

²⁰⁸ *Huitu sanjiao yuanliu souchen daquan* (Taibei, 1980), p.63

²⁰⁹ See my chapter one

²¹⁰ Lagerwey, “The Pilgrimage to Wu-Tang Shan”, p.316

²¹¹ Cedzich, pp.180-92

²¹² DFHY, 229:2a, quoted by Cedzich, p.185

The second confrontation between Daoism and Buddhism is seen in the tale of Wen Qiong defeating the Teaching of the Three Altars 三壇法. After Wen Qiong has obtained sufficient power from the battle against the King Jialou, he received celestial permission to attack the Teaching of the Three Altars, something he had not dared to do before. The Teaching of the Three Altars, according to Davis, virtually belonged to the Tantric tradition. There is an anecdote in the *Yijian zhi* telling that a certain Ye Dao 葉道, styled Faguang 法廣, was a native of Jianning (in modern Fujian). He was specialized in transmitting and practicing the Rites of the Five Divisions of the Three Altars in order to exorcise evil forces and cure illness.²¹³ As the term “five divisions (wubu)” was used in the early stage as a kind of synecdoche for Esoteric Buddhism in general, and the “Rites of the Five Divisions” a kind of shorthand for Tantric exorcisms of a particular kind, “the qualification of the Rites of the Three Altars as Rites of the Five Divisions (or Classes) clearly locates these rites in the Tantric Buddhist tradition.”²¹⁴ The description of the Teaching of the Three Altars as a demonic cult and the triumph over it by Marshal Wen appear to express a devaluation of the Tantric Buddhism. Nevertheless, several details betray the close connection between the Daoist practice and the Tantric tradition. In the first place, based on a number of records reflecting the practices of some Esoteric Buddhist masters at the courts of [Tang] Xuanzong and Taizong, the Tantric masters recited various incantations to summon one or more Buddhist deities, sometimes identified, sometimes not, into either a luminous, reflective object (water, mirror, jewel, pearl), just like Wen Qiong entering the mirror, the image or icon of the divinity.²¹⁵ Additionally, it is commented by Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001) at the end of the biography of the Tantric monk Vajrabodhi 金剛智 in the *Gaoseng zhuan* that “According to the scheme of the Ma□□ala of Five Divisions, young boys or virgins must be used as media to summon spirits. It was once extremely easy to cure illness or exorcise evils. People in modern times, [however,] use this [method] to profit their body or mouth, therefore little result is obtained. Generally [these methods] are held in contempt by the world. Alas that the deterioration of the good Law has gone so far as this!”²¹⁶ According to the aforementioned story of Lu Yanghao carrying out the Rites of Summoning and Investigation in front of a Buddhist temple with three en-

²¹³ *Yijian sanzhi*, juan Xin, no. seven, pp.1437-38

²¹⁴ Davis, p.122

²¹⁵ Ibid, p.123

²¹⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan*, 712a, quoted in Zhou Yiliang, “Tantrism in China,” *HJAS*, Vol. 8, No. 3/4 (Mar., 1945), p.284.

tranced youths during his exorcistic performance, what the Daoist practitioner did extremely resembled the Tantric traditions. Besides, a Tantrified Daoist technique is performed in the tale of Wen acquiring the Six Powers through Wu Daoxian's 吳道顯 continuous recitation of the Tianpeng incantation. The practicing of reciting incantations probably suggests an origin in the Buddhist *Dhāraṇī* which refers to spells, incantations, or mnemonic codes, and literally means "to hold," "to support," or "to maintain."²¹⁷ Among various types, mantra-*Dhāraṇī* are referred to as a Bodhisattva acquiring charms to allay plagues, and mnemonic *Dhāraṇī* as a bodhisattva's memory and perception being enhanced to remember sutras or salient points of doctrine. Moreover, the sounds of *Dhāraṇī* are so powerful that merits are generated by merely reciting them and they also function by means of the doctrine of the "transference of merit." "By chanting *Dhāraṇī* one obtains merit for oneself by drawing upon the inexhaustible stores of merit possessed by buddhas, bodhisattvas, and gods for use in this world, usually for protection and to counteract problems understood to be the fruits of one's own karma, but this power may also be used to work other kinds of miracles."²¹⁸ The idea of mantra had already been circulating from the second century onward in China and *Dhāraṇī* became later popular among tantric masters. Abhijñā, the Six Powers, is originally ascribed to Buddha and his chief disciples. The first five are mundane and attainable through the perfection of concentration (*samādhi*) in meditative trance (*dhyāna*). As earthly attainments, they are available to non-Buddhist practitioners, whereas the sixth power is supramundane and exclusively Buddhist, and attainable only through insight (*vipaśyanā*) into the Buddhist truths.²¹⁹ After going through the above tales, we finally found that the Daoist Masters and Marshal Wen were actually using the Buddhist way against the Buddhism itself—very similar to the aforementioned rule of evil fighting evil!

²¹⁷ *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (New York, 2004), "DHĀRAṆĪ", Richard D. MCBRIDE

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ The five mundane abhijñās include: 1) The divine eye (*divyacakṣus*), the ability to see the demise and rebirth of beings according to their good and evil deeds; 2) The divine ear (*divyaśrota*), the ability to hear heavenly and earthly sounds at any distance; 3) Knowledge of other minds (*cetaṃparyāyajñāna*), the ability to know the thoughts and mental states of others; 4) Recollection of previous habitations (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*), the ability to remember one's former existences from one to thousands of rebirths, through the evolution and destruction of many world systems; and 5) Various supernatural powers (*iddhi*), such as the ability to create mind-made bodies, project replicas of oneself, become invisible, pass through solid objects, move through the earth, walk on water, fly through the air, touch the sun and moon, and ascend to the highest heaven. The sixth and only supramundane abhijñā called "knowledge of the extinction of the passions" (*āśravakāya*) is the most significant. It is equivalent to arhatship. The passions extinguished through this power are sensuality (*kāma*), becoming (*bhava*), ignorance (*avidyā*), and views (*dṛṣṭi*). Patrick A. Pranke, "Abhijñā", in Robert E. Buswell, Jr., eds., *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (New York, 2004), pp.8-9

3.3 The Eastern Peak Network

3.3.1 Mt. Tai and the Eastern Peak Emperor

Mt. Tai, which became known as the Eastern Peak by the end of Warring States, was the site where Wen Qiong's transformation took place. Unlike the worship of city gods, which remained undeveloped until the eighth century,²²⁰ the worship of Mt. Tai goes far back to ancient times. Before the first unification of China by Qin Shihuang, Mt. Tai, together with four other mountains, formed a set of sacred peaks arrayed in the cardinal directions and center.²²¹ The earliest extant written record of the imperial worship of Mt. Tai could be found in the work of Guan Zhong 管仲 (?-645BC),²²² of which an elaboration was provided in the *Shiji* 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (135-86BC).²²³ However, due to its location in the east, the direction connected with spring which is the beginning of life on earth, by the Han dynasty Mt. Tai paralleled its role with the imperial imagination as the site of the netherworld bureau where the dead were registered.²²⁴ Throughout the Han and beyond, Mt. Tai continued to be considered as the superintendent of the netherworld. Life and death are determined on the mountain; merits and sins are judged by its governor, the Eastern Peak Emperor, who was the direct supervisor of Marshal Wen. According to the *Wuyue zhenxing tu xulun* 五嶽真形圖序論, which is supposed to be a late Six Dynasty production,²²⁵ the Eastern Peak is portrayed as an official with specific jurisdictions, vestments and accouterments:

²²⁰ See David Johnson, "The City-God Cults of T'ang and Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Dec., 1985), pp. 363-457. He points out that before the flourishing of the cult of city gods in the late Tang dynasty it was the cult of the *she* 社, the ancient god of the soil, that was widespread. The sacrifices to the *she* were mandated by statute as part of the official religion and its cult had gone through a process of rationalization and depersonalization. The separation of the cult of city gods and that of earth gods went hand in hand with the growing distinction between village and city; the former gradually replaced the *she* as the main territorial god among city dwellers from the Song onwards.

²²¹ Gil Raz, "Daoist sacred geography", p.1402, eds., John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi, *Early Chinese religion Part 2, The period of division (220-589 AD)* (Leiden, 2010), pp.1399-1442

²²² Guanzi, "Fengshan pian"

²²³ *Shiji*, "Fengshan shu"

²²⁴ Anne Goodrich, *The Peking Temple of the Eastern Peak* (Nagoya, 1964), p.35

²²⁵ Kristofer Schipper, in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist canon: a historical companion to the Daozang* (Chicago, 2004), p.265

Commander of the various spirits, 5900 in number, he manages the living and the dead and is the commander of the hundred ghosts. He is the ancestor of the blood-ingesting shrines. All those in the vulgar world who revere ghosts and sacrifice to the spirits and deviant-essences upon death return to Mount Tai, and there they are subjected to the investigation of sins. If you enter the mountain adorned with the Perfect Forms of the Five Peaks, the Eastern Peak Emperor and hundreds of deities of mountains and rivers will come to welcome you. The Eastern Peak Emperor is dressed in a green robe, wearing a crown of dark green and a seal of communicating the yang and great north, riding a green dragon, coming to welcome you with groups of officials. 東嶽泰山君，領群神五千九百人，主治死生，百鬼之主帥也。血食廟祠，宗伯者也。俗世所奉鬼祠邪精之神，而死者皆歸泰山，受罪考焉。諸得佩五嶽形，入經山林，及詣泰山，君及諸山川百神，皆出境迎拜子也。泰山君服青袍，戴蒼碧七稱之冠，佩通陽太朔之印，乘青龍，從群官來迎子。²²⁶

Besides, the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 includes an anecdote that a person called Hu Muban 胡母班 who passed by the mountain was summoned by the Eastern Peak Emperor and met his dead father there.²²⁷ Another anecdote in the same collection tells the story of a person called Jia Wenhe 賈文合 being caught by the prison guards of the Eastern Peak by mistake and finally released.²²⁸ Under Buddhist influence during the Tang dynasty, the Daoist vision of the underworld reached maturity and Mt. Fengdu 酆都 came to be a center of torture and horror for dead sinners. Since then, the Eastern Peak Emperor was absorbed into one of the ten lords of the Earth Prison 地獄十王²²⁹ as the King of Mount Tai 泰山王. Yet, although Fengdu emerged as another infernal world, the position of the Eastern Peak as the governor of the netherworld continued to flourish and temples to it were found in every major town and city.²³⁰

²²⁶ DZ 1032: 79.2

²²⁷ *Soushen ji*: 4. 1b

²²⁸ Ibid: 15. 2b

²²⁹ The other nine are The Far-Reaching King of Qin 秦廣王, The King of the First River 初江王, The Imperial King of Song 宋帝王, The King of the Five Offices 五官王, King Yama 閻羅王, The King of Transformations 變成王, The Impartial King 平等王, The King of the Capital 都市王, The King who Turns the Wheel [of Rebirth] in the Five Paths 五道轉輪王. Stephen Teiser, "Having once died and returned to life": Representations of Hell in Medieval China, *HJAS*, vol.48, no.2 (Dec., 1988), pp.433-464

²³⁰ It was Song Zhenzong who issued a decree to have Eastern Peak Temples built in every administrative capital in the empire. See Richard von Glahn, "The Sociology of Local Religion in the Lake Tai Basin", in *Religion and Chinese Society* (Hong Kong, 2004), John Lagerwey ed., p.781

Arising as another site of the infernal world from the Six Dynasties onwards, Fengdu works as the collateral underworld system of the Eastern Peak in this hagiography. The earliest reference to Fengdu as a site of the dead could be found in the *Baopu zi* 抱樸子, dating from the early fourth century. The administrative structure of the underworld in Fengdu was first adopted and elaborated by the Shangqing tradition. Located beneath Mt. Luofeng 羅酆 in the *gui* 癸 region of the north, Fengdu is also called Beifeng 北酆. Because of its location, the northeast direction is also regarded as the gate of *gui* 鬼門. On Mt. Luofeng there are six heavenly palaces called the Six Heavens 六天 which is usually referred to as the abode of the deceased. The six palaces governed by the demon kings of the Six Heavens 六天魔王 are in charge of different Dark affairs. Records of the dead are kept and checked there. Virtuous deceased are allowed to ascend to the Heaven while sinners are sent to earth prisons 地獄 to receive punishments. As a complex administrative system, Fengdu is run by a sophisticatedly organized hierarchy. The highest administrator is the Emperor of the North, short for the Great Emperor of the North Darkness 北陰大帝, governing other high officials who were eminent figures during their lifetimes who then in turn control a variety of demons who are in charge of seizing those whose lifetime are over. In other words, Fengdu is a place governed by *gui* 鬼. More detailed descriptions of Fengdu may be found in the *Wondrous Scripture of the North Emperor* which read that Mt. Fengduluo 酆都羅 is located in a sea in the extreme north. The location in the sea might derive from the earlier description of the *gui* region of the north. *Gui* is the tenth heavenly stem 天干 and closely connected with water and the kidneys. It is thus not surprising to find the location of Fengdu in the sea. In addition to the six heavenly palaces, there are many other prisons on Mt. Luofeng. The numbers of the prisons vary from twenty-four to thirty-six and their names differ from one another. The Rites of Fengdu 酆都法 did not appear until late Tang, according to Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-?), who says that, a certain Master Wu 吳先生 began to spread the rites to summon gods and demons for investigation during the closing years of the Tang dynasty. Throughout the narrative of the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, the proceeding went as the Eastern Peak Emperor granted authority to Marshal Wen to fight with demons; the demons defeated by Marshal Wen then received the death penalty in Fengdu, with the charge of spreading plague, demanding blood offerings, and attacking Heavenly Masters, Xujing in our case.

Many titles have been granted to Mt. Tai throughout the history. During the reign of Tang Xuanzong (r.712-756), the mountain was canonized as the King Equaling Heaven 天齊王 in 724 when a Feng and Shan sacrifice was carried out on the mountain.²³¹ In 1008, Song Zhenzong conferred the title of the Benevolent and Sacred King Equaling Heaven 仁聖天齊王²³² right after the completion of the Feng and Shan sacrifice on the mountain, and later on the title was upgraded to the Benevolent and Sacred Emperor Equaling Heaven.²³³

Bingling, the third son of the Eastern Peak Emperor and the guide of Wen Qiong to transform on Mt. Tai, was bestowed with the titles of General of Power and Strength 威雄將軍 by Tang Mingzong 唐明宗 (r. 926-933) in 933.²³⁴ After the completion of his Feng and Shan sacrifice on Mt. Tai in 1008, Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (r. 998-1022) conferred the title of Lord Bingling 炳靈公 on him.²³⁵ So far, I have not yet found any earlier sources elaborating on Bingling except the late-Ming fiction *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 in which the Lord Bingling is portrayed as Huang Tianhua 黃天化, son of Huang Feihu 黃飛虎, one of the rebellious princes of the Shang dynasty. The tale goes:

During the battle on Jinji ling, Gao Jineng opened his bag containing centipedes and wasps, throwing them in a cluster like locust swarm. Huang Tianhua lifted two hammers to shelter from the attack but the wasps stung the eyes of his jade kylin. The kylin cried out and stood on the hind foot to stretch out the forelegs, turning over the sedan on which Huang was seated. Huang fell to the ground when Gao's spear hit him at the side of the body. Huang died unnaturally. What a pity that he went down from the mountain but failed to defeat the Four Heavenly King. Never could he get a piece of land of the Shang. He died without any achievements and already waited at the terrace for canonization. [金雞嶺大戰，高繼能展開蜈蚣袋，那蜈蚣卷將來，成堆成團而至，一似飛蝗，黃天化用兩柄錘遮擋，不防蜈蚣把玉麒麟的眼叮了一下，那麒麟叫一聲，後蹄站立，前蹄直豎，黃天化坐不住鞍轡，撞下地來，被高繼能一槍正中脅下，死於非命。可憐下山大破四天王，不曾取成湯寸土。正是功名未遂身先死，早至台中等候封]。²³⁶

²³¹ *Jiu Tangshu*: 23.27a

²³² *Songshi*: 102.4b

²³³ *Ibid*: 102.5b

²³⁴ *Jiu Wudai shi*, *Tangshu* 20, p.605

²³⁵ *Songshi*: 120. 4b

²³⁶ *Fengshen yanyi* (Shanghai, 1991), p.480

Ziya said: "today I receive the order from the Primordial Commencement: you, Huang Tianhua, dedicated to serve the country as a youth, went downhill to make the first accomplishment and saved the life of your father which is particularly a filial conduct; it is grievous that you died in the battlefield before receiving any honor or canonization! Judging from your contribution, the honor granted to you should be very generous. Now you are specially canonized as the Lord Bingling who is the head of Three Mountains." [子牙曰：今奉太上元始敕命：爾黃天化以青年盡忠報國，下山首建大功，救父尤為孝養；未享榮封，捐軀馬革，情實痛焉！援功定賞，當存其厚，特敕封爾為管領三山正神炳靈公之職].²³⁷

However, according to Goodrich's study on the Peking Temple of the Eastern Peak, Bingling, whose image in the temple was a small boy, was a deity who delivered babies to their destined homes.²³⁸ In another research of the temples of Anking 安慶, John Shryock suggested that the Eastern Peak Emperor was originally a general of King Wu, of the Zhou dynasty, who was posthumously honored by the emperor after the former's death in battle.²³⁹

3.3.2 Taibao: the Grand Guardian

The first divine position of Wen Qiong is Taibao, a title indicating his celestial function as a protector. The earliest use of "Taibao" can be traced to the Zhou dynasty, when the Lord Zhao 召公 was designated as the Taibao to assist the young King Cheng 成王.²⁴⁰ In the Song and Yuan dynasties the title Taibao was widely used by local spirit-mediums. The process of its popularization from the official title as a protector of royal family members to the religious title adopted by local religious practitioners remains unexplained, but an anecdote in the *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 of Hong Mai confirms the change. It tells of a leader of the imperial guards called Liu who abstained from food but absorbed incense and drank water. He was able to subdue demons, and people in the capital called him "Incense-eating Taibao".²⁴¹ Yu Yan 俞琰 (1253-1258) once

²³⁷ Ibid, pp.704-705

²³⁸ Anne Goodrich, *The Peking Temple of the Eastern Peak* (Nagoya, 1964), p.75

²³⁹ *Fengshen yanyi* (Shanghai, 1991), p.705 and John Shryock, *The Temples of Anking and Their Cults* (Paris, 1931), p.91

²⁴⁰ *Dadai lijì buzhu*, chapter 3, "Baofu", pp. 29, 34-5

²⁴¹ Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi*, Ding zhi, "Chen Xifu" chapter 9, p. 611

commented that Taibao was commonly used to refer to spirit-mediums in the South.²⁴² Richard von Glahn suggested that the title Taibao was still in use in the region of Lake Tai basin as the most common designation for ritual experts in “hosting the great *tudi*” rite in the twentieth century.²⁴³ An article entitled “Taibao yu zuoshe” 太保與做社 (Taibao and the earth god ritual) has further proven that the usage of Taibao as a common name of religious practitioners existed in the countryside of modern Zhejiang province. Such people are usually called “Taibao xiansheng” 太保先生, and what they chant during the ritual is called “Taibao shu” 太保書. These Taibao mainly play three functions namely “zuoshe 做社”, which is to pray for auspiciousness; “rangjie 禳解”, to heal the sick, and “wanchuan 完船”, which is a kind of funeral ritual. On the thirty-fifth or twenty-first day after the death, the Taibao xiansheng will be invited to the home of the deceased. Having burned incense, the eldest son of the deceased places a paper boat on the table and holds it with a cotton thread. All the other family members are down on their knees, holding incense. Then the Taibao xiansheng begins to chant the *Scripture of Ten Months’ Pregnancy* 十月懷胎經. The Taibao, however, is not a full-time career but a part-time job taken up by peasants in the slack farming season.²⁴⁴ This connection with local religion and with spirit-mediums seemed to have played a role in determining the place of Wen Qiong in the Daoist System as an intercessor between the two worlds.

According to the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, there are totally ten Earth Spirits, the texts of whom were widespread under heaven. There remains few reliable data except some clues available in the *Hangzhou Gazetteer* 杭州府志 (*Hangzhou fuzhi*) which states:

“Therefore the Temple of Eastern Peak Wen Taiwei was established. The court granted the title of Broad Power as a plaque and canonized him as the Orthodox Aid Marquis in the fifth year of the Xianchun reign (1280). The nine remaining deities, starting with General Li, were also bestowed the title of Marquis: Assuring Blessing Li, Powerful Blessing Qian, Illustrious Blessing Liu, Ap-

²⁴² Yu Yan, *Shuzhai yehua*: 1.5 a, Shanghai, 1987

²⁴³ Richard von Glahn, “The Sociology of Local Religion in the Lake Tai Basin”, in Lagerwey, ed., *Chinese Society and Religion*, vol. 2, *Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, pp. 773-815

²⁴⁴ Gu Xijia, etc. “Taibao yu zuoshe”, *Zhongguo minjian wenhua* (Shanghai, 1992), chapter 7

propriate Blessing Yang, Pacifying Blessing Kang, Broad Blessing Zhang, Assisting Blessing Yue, Manifesting Blessing Meng, and Valiant Blessing Wei.”²⁴⁵

Among the ten, the Pacifying Blessing Kang made appearance in the *Wen Taibao zhuan* in the name of Kang Ying 康應, who was an unsuccessful candidate for the position of Taibao. It is said that in Guozhou 果州, he was worshipped as the Awesomely Helpful Good and Beneficial, Efficacious Responsive Heroic Martyr King 威濟善利孚惠英烈王. The cult of Kangwang flourished after the establishment of the Southern Song, along the Yangtze River, especially in Ji'an 吉安 in central of Jiangxi.²⁴⁶ He is said to be the assistant of the Eastern Peak 東嶽之毗, acting as a guardian of local people against bandits and robbers.²⁴⁷ This corresponds with the statement of his selection as Taibao of the Eastern Peak in the text. His Taibao position is also confirmed in the *juan 22* of the *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠 as it describes: quickly arrive the Eastern Peak Taibao Wen Qiong and Kang Ying.²⁴⁸ In addition, since he could willfully bring benefit as well as calamity to the society, usually in the form of plagues, he is regarded as both the controller and spreader of epidemics.²⁴⁹ Also, shamanistic activities took place at the Kangwang's shrine,²⁵⁰ further indicating his nature as a local spirit. In the course of his cult history, he has been officially recognized by the government more than once:

“In the Xuanhe period (1119-1125) he was given the title Awesome Helper 威濟, during Jianyan (1127-1131) the title Good and Beneficial 善利 was added, at the time of Shaoxing (1131-1162) he was given the title Trustworthy and Responsive 孚應, and during Qingyuan (1195-1200) Heroic Martyr 英烈. In the Baoqing period (1225-1228) his honorary name was definitively established as the Awesomely Manifest Good and Beneficial, Efficacious Responsive Heroic Martyr 威顯善利靈應英烈. Finally, at the time of the Shaoding reign period (1228-1234), the Jishui temple for Kang Baoyi 康保裔 received the imperial title Lingyou 靈佑.”²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ *Hangzhou fuzhi*, 8:9a

²⁴⁶ Anne Gerritsen, *Ji'an Literati and the local in Song-Yuan-Ming China* (Leiden, 2007), pp.41-42

²⁴⁷ “Kangwang miaoji”, *Jishui xianzhi, Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* (Beijing, 2007), vol.17, *juan 31*, p. 40

²⁴⁸ DZ 1166:22.13a

²⁴⁹ Liang Qian, *Boan ji*, v.781-786: 3.31a

²⁵⁰ Ouyang Shoudao, *Xunzhai wenji*, 16.2b-3a

²⁵¹ Anne Gerritsen, “Gods and Governors: Interpreting the religious realms in Ji'an (Jiangxi) during the Southern Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties (China)” (Harvard, 2001), PhD Dissertation, pp.51-2

The name Kang Baoyi refers to a historical figure who was a general of the Northern Song dynasty and died in battle. However, the identification of Kangwang with the Northern Song general Kang Baoyi proves to be an invention of literati. To quote Gerritsen: “they [literati] provide Kang Baoyi’s biographic details, hoping to encourage an understanding of this spirit as the manifestation of the moral powers accumulated on this earth as a mortal being.”²⁵²

In addition to the Eastern Peak, the other four peaks also appeared as the Eastern Peak Emperor convened a meeting to discussion strategy against the Teaching of the Three Altars. Zhang Xun 張巡, the evoked Emissary from the Northern Peak 北嶽, joined Wen Qiong in the battle. There exists a description in the *Fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠 which clearly states Zhang’s identity as the Marshal of the Northern Peak: “May the Northern Peak Marshal Zhang Xun and the Gentleman Gazing at the River come quickly!”²⁵³ Another scripture in the *DFHY* also includes the name of Zhang Xun: quickly appear Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan.²⁵⁴ I have not yet found any Daoist hagiographies of Zhang Xun, but there is a piece of hagiography found in the *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* entitled “The Perfected Lord Zhang who Kills Demons” 斬鬼張真君. It states that the name of the Perfected Lord Zhang is Zhang Xun, and he has a wife and a concubine. Having acquired the *jinshi* title in the highest imperial examination, Zhang Xun was assigned as the magistrate of Suiyang 睢陽 (modern Shangqiu 商丘, Henan). At the time of the An Lushan and Shi Siming Rebellion 安史之亂, Zhang Xun won several battles against the usurpers. At the crucial moment of running out of food, Zhang killed and cooked his concubine, distributing her flesh to soldiers as food. Unfortunately, he was finally defeated by the rebellious army and killed for refusing to surrender. He received the title of Perfected Lord of Treasure Mountain, Loyal and Pacifying, Grand Protection and Blessing Virtue 寶山忠靖景佑福德真君 from the Tang and later Song emperors.²⁵⁵

4. The participation of Heavenly Master Daoism

²⁵² Ibid, p.58

²⁵³ DZ 1166:22.12b

²⁵⁴ DFHY 78:10.18b

²⁵⁵ *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan*, p.238

If the Lord Bingling is the one who leads Wen Qiong into the divine world, the Heavenly Master Xujing is the one who drives his divine career as a Supreme General of Earth Spirits. Judging by the reign title Xuanhe (1119-1125), the Master Xujing in this text must be the 30th Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092-1127), who was active during the reign of Song Huizong (r. 1100-1125). According to the *Xuanpin lu* 玄品錄, in the fourth year of the reign of Chongning 崇寧 (1102-1106), the 30th Heavenly Master Zhang Jixian received the title of Master Xujing from Huizong.²⁵⁶ Among all the Heavenly Masters, Master Xujing enjoys the most popularity that not only is he the subject of several explicit biographies in the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑, *Han Tianshi shijia* 漢天師世家, *Longhu shan zhi* 龍虎山志, and *Xuanpin lu* 玄品錄, but he is also attributed the composition of the *Conversations of the 30th Heavenly Master Xujing* 三十代天師虛靖真君語錄 and the *Heavenly Master Xujing Breaking the Delusion* 虛靖天師破妄章 in the *Daofa huiyuan*, revealing his management of thunder rites and meditation, the combination of inner and outer.²⁵⁷ According to Huang Gongjin's *Additional Words on the Preface of Earth Spirits* 地祇緒餘論, the Rites of Earth Spirits began with the Heavenly Master Xujing, passed in sequence to Wang Zongjing, Wu Daoxian, Liu Boqi, and Zhong Ming, and spread to the places of Zhe, Min, Shu, Huguang.²⁵⁸ All the masters mentioned above appear one after another in the storytelling, each linked to several miraculous stories.

Nonetheless, it is strange to find also in the hagiography that the Master Xujing showed up during the reign of Zhenzong: a Daoist called Wang Zongjing travelled to Mt. Qingcheng to visit Xujing during the reign of Zhenzong. According to the *Genealogy of the Han Heavenly Masters* 漢天師世家 (*Han Tianshi shijia*), it was the twenty-fourth Heavenly Master Zhang Zhengsui 張正隨 (?-?) in position of Zhenzong's reign. He was granted the title of Master Zhenjing (True Tranquillness 真靜) by Zhenzong.²⁵⁹ Since there exist five generations between Zhang Zhengsui and Zhang Jixian, it is impossible that Master Xujing Zhang Jixian really left any traces dozens of years before his life time. The time leap might be a mistake—either intentionally or

²⁵⁶ DZ 781: 5.21

²⁵⁷ DFHY: 71-72

²⁵⁸ DFHY: 253

²⁵⁹ DZ1463:2.18a

by accident—of identifying Master Zhenjing with Master Xujing—both includes the character “jing”.

Under the effort of Tang Xuanzong (r. 712-756), the chiefs of the Daoist lineage on Mt. Longhu was recognized as the legitimate holders of the title of Heavenly Master and thereby the new Zhengyi patriarchy of Mt. Longhu was created.²⁶⁰ In 1239, the Southern Song emperor Lizong (r. 1224-64) ordered the thirty-fifth Heavenly Master, Zhang Keda 張可大 (1217-1263), to bring together the Talismans and Registers of the Three Mountains (sanshan folu 三山符籙)—Zhengyi, Shangqing, and Lingbao, which were respectively based on Mt. Longhu 龍虎山, Mt. Mao 茅山 and Mt. Gezao 葛皂山. Soon afterwards, in 1304, the thirty-eighth Heavenly Master, Zhang Yucai 張與材 (?-1316), was appointed Head of the Teaching of Orthodox Unity, Guarding the Talismans and Registers of the Three Mountains (Zhengyi jiaozhu zhuling sans han fulu 正一教主注領三山符籙). By then, with the exception of Quanzhen, all schools of Taoist religion including the Shenxiao sect, were in fact reunited at Mt. Longhu and together came to be called the Teaching of Orthodox Unity.²⁶¹

Wang Zongjing 王宗敬, a Daoist of the Zhenzong's reign as stated in the *Wen Taibao zhuan*, received the Rites of Earth Spirits together with a Seal of the Exorcistic Department 驅邪院印 from Heavenly Master Xujing. The Seal of the Exorcistic Department is short for the Seal of the North Dipper of Exorcistic Department 北極驅邪院印, adopted mainly in the Tianxin traditions and seen in scriptures such as the *Shangqing guisui lingwen guilü* 上清骨髓靈文鬼律 and the *Shangqing beiji tianxin zhengfa* 上清北極天心正法. Described in the *Shangqing guisui lingwen guilü*, a Seal of the Exorcistic Department is a quadrate of one *cun* and eight *fen*, made of gold and jade, written with celestial characters.²⁶² It is applied to summon the emissaries of the Six *dīng* and Six *jia* to guard a certain area.²⁶³ To make use of it, the seal should be first placed with the red side upwards before sending a memorial to the Upper World,²⁶⁴ and then,

²⁶⁰ Qing Xitai, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* (Sichuan, 1992), vol.2, pp.145-51

²⁶¹ Chen Yaoting, in Fabrizio Pregadio, edited, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism I* (Routledge, 2008), pp.1258-59

²⁶² DZ 461:3.8b

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

sending another memorial to the Eastern Peak and other pertinent functionaries.²⁶⁵ Similar instructions could also be found in the second *juan* of the *Taishang zhuguo jiumin zongzhen miyao* 太上助國救民總真秘要 which was compiled by Yuan Miaozong 元妙宗 (fl. 1086-1116) and is the earliest surviving comprehensive compilation of the methods of the Tianxin zhengfa tradition.²⁶⁶

Concluding Remarks

Unlike the other accounts of Marshal Wen, the *Wen Taibao zhuan* works as a hagiographic account which allows him to enter the Daoist divine bureaucracy as well as the social background as a whole. The narrative structure is very sophisticated, embracing a great diversity of elements from the Three Teachings and popular religion. Generally speaking, the development of the narration follows two timelines. The first is the transmission of the Rites of Earth Spirits within the Daoist community from the Heavenly Master Xujing down to the Perfected Zhong Ming; the other is the promotion of Wen Qiong from a Taibao in the Eastern Peak Temple up to the Supreme General of the Earth Spirits. During the intertwining of the two timelines, the particularities of the Earth Spirits of whom Wen Qiong is the leader is gradually reinforced. One of the particularities, according to Liu Yu, is that when Heavenly Gods are summoned, they descend through the Heavenly Gate, Thunder Gods emerge through the *Xun* 巽 gate of mid-Heaven, and Soldiers of Fengdu come through the Earth Gate; only the Earth Spirits appear right in front of eyes and wait in this world to be summoned.²⁶⁷ Staying in the world of living, this is probably the feature which the term “Earth Spirit” refers to. Moreover, Earth Spirits are also referred to by ritual masters as the Little Fengdu 小豐都, by which is meant that the Earth Spirits are extremely responsive to any deeds of good and bad.²⁶⁸ This is probably emphasizing the nature of the Earth Spirits as connectors between the underworld and the human world, in other words, marginal gods of the divine system.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Poul Andersen, in Fabrizio Pregadio, edited, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism Part II* (Routledge, 2008), pp.951-52

²⁶⁷ DFHY: 253

²⁶⁸ Ibid

As revealed from the text, the frequent and apparent target of the Heavenly Masters and Marshal Wen is Buddhism. During the first war with the Teaching of the Three Altars, without permission from the superior, Wen Qiong dared not to act on his own to attack it. The second against Buddhism happened in Fujian, where Wen assisted Wu Daoxian in destroying King Jialou and his underlings. An indirect story concerning the attack on Buddhism is told by the King Kang, who once eliminated the Teaching of the Three Altars in Guozhou. Interestingly to find that the King Kang was supposed to be another Taibao, failed due to his injustice in spreading the plague. The implication here is apparent enough to suggest that Buddhism is so inferior that even a Taibao candidate, the lowest Earth Spirit, can defeat it. Nevertheless, the Buddhist teaching is not and cannot be completely exterminated by Daoism but retained as a mercy of the Lord Lao to persuade people to do good deeds. In spite of constant confrontations between the two religious traditions, neither of them managed to take on a dominant position over the other. On the contrary, many of the Buddhist traditions were integrated into Daoism, as discussed earlier, acting as another strategy in opposition to Buddhism and providing more continuity in the construction of Daoist warrior gods, as Wen Qiong in our case. To quote Davis, Wu Daoxian's travels "reveal a religious topography drawn entirely with a Buddhist brush" and "Buddhism has now come to occupy the space once reserved for the popular cults by which Daoism differentiated itself. In contrast, the gods of popular cults (i.e., Wen Qiong) are anxiously seeking for nothing more than to be integrated into the hierarchy of the Dao—an indication of the extent to which Daoism was willing to integrate them."²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ Davis, p. 120

Conclusion

So far, we have examined a number of hagiographic records of Daoist warrior gods, particularly Marshal Wen, and have come to several conclusions of the evolution of their cults in narratives. I hereby provide a few commonplace remarks by way of conclusion to this thesis and of introduction to my future study.

The cult of Marshal Wen has been lively presented through the close reading of the *Wen Taibao zhuan*: he was originated from a well spirit of the Six Dynasties at the latest. In ancient times, the spread of plague was deemed to be linked to water, and a well was a common site of fetching water in daily life. Due to the tremendous fear of plague, people began to worship the well spirit for the purpose of keeping plague away; finally during the Song and Yuan dynasties, accompanying the emergence of Daoist Ritual Masters and the active participation of Tantric Buddhism in local society, a group of local deities, including the well spirit Qiong, got a chance to enter the Daoist orthodox bureaucracy, transforming from a plague-inducing demon to a plague-fighting deity; yet, because of their demonic origin and violent nature, they cannot choose but to remain at the margin of the System, thus taking on the identity as guardians and intercessors of the two worlds—yin and yang, dark and light.

The prominence of the different categories of Daoist warrior gods during the Song and Yuan dynasties demonstrated to a certain degree that they were catered to specific situations during the transformation of Daoist movement from the Song onwards. It was a common scene that the rise and decline of a certain cult was usually accompanied by the change of regime. It was almost a routine throughout the history that in order to survive and flourish religious practices have to win support from the rulers. As a result, some of the Daoist martial deities during the evolution were tailored, mainly through Daoist hands, to the taste of the ruling house, as shown by the involvement of the Black Killer in foretelling the regnant future of Song Taizong and the later participation of the Dark Emperor in legitimating Zhu Di's usurpation in the early Ming. Such a win-win situation is always welcome by both the secular court and the religious body as long as the latter's orthodox reputation is promoted through imperial sanctions and the former is awarded the divine power and heavenly mandate from the latter to govern. On the other hand, the Daoist divine bureaucracy speeded up efforts to remold some local deities by expanding a space

of inferior divinity and thus continued the enrichments of warrior gods. The *Wen Taibao zhuan*, as we judge the course of Marshal Wen's cult, functions as the vehicle of the Daoist "revisionism" to have reshaped Wen Qiong all the way from a daunting well spirit to a Daoist warrior god. In the eye of the Daoists, orthodoxy and heterodoxy are clearly set apart while they always align themselves with the former. Briefly speaking, Daoism seems to expect a voluntary rapprochement from popular religion.

Among the other-written hagiographies of Marshal Wen, a text deserving of mention is the stele inscription by Song Lian. In regard to the nature of hagiography, bearing little or no connection with real history, it proves to be an autonomous literary style imbedded with subjective orientations of an individual or a group of people, I therefore prefer to look into the author of the inscription rather than its content, so as to understand the text within a more precise discourse.

In 1350, at the age of 41, Song Lian (1310-1381), *alias* Longmen zi (Master of Dragon Gate), relocated his family to Mt. Qingluo (Green Wistaria) of Pu River 浦江 (in modern Jinhua 金華) and started living the life of a recluse. Before and after that date, he rejected three opportunities to gain an official position, respectively in 1344, 1349, and 1359. The stele inscription for a temple built for Marshal Wen, later known as the "Stele Inscription of Wen, the King of Loyalty and Pacification," was composed in 1355, when he was apparently still a recluse.²⁷⁰ Song, who had failed the imperial examinations several times, once commented in a "Memorial of Gratitude for Kindness to the Offer of Official Position" 致仕謝恩表 that he was "just an ordinary scholar who had roughly gone through the Classics and histories. Although I attended several times the imperial exams in the previous dynasty, I never gained any official salary and would rather spend the rest of my life in the mountain forest."²⁷¹

Song's determination to retire from society had complex reasons, two of which stand out. First, he was influenced by his teachers and friends who also yearned for the Daoist recluse life. For example, Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375), *alias* Bowen 伯溫, once wrote an article entitled "Seeing Off the Master Longmen to Mt. Xianhua" 送龍門子入仙華山辭 (並序), in which he said: "Master Longmen has rejected the appointment and is about to become a Daoist in Mt. Xianhua,

²⁷⁰ Chen Zhenjin, *Song Lian zhuanjiwen yanjiu* (Taiwan, 2006), p.50

²⁷¹ *Song Xueshi wenji* (Taibei, 1967), juan 41

but some high ranking officials want to stop him. I have been feeble since youth and too idle to serve (i.e. hold office). Instead, I once appreciated the peace and quietness of the teaching of the Lord Lao, also wishing to become a Daoist but failed. On hearing the master's words, I am delighted, and thus sing a poem to expedite his journey. I will follow the master in no time."²⁷² The other reason, no doubt the most important, was the social turbulence at the change of regimes.

Judging from his writings, Song developed an intimate relationship with Daoist and Buddhist practitioners. Fifteen of the ninety biographies and forty-nine of the two hundred and eighty-five stele inscriptions and epitaphs in his extant work were devoted to monks, Daoists, and recluses.²⁷³ Apart from Confucian scholars and chaste women, a sort of religious practitioner who focused on the combination of Confucianism and Daoism was also the protagonist of his writing. The descriptions of them were more or less customized as born with anomalies; miracles in transmitting the Law; and miracles after death, while their characteristics were also stereotyped as benevolent, and eager to bring salvation to people.²⁷⁴

The main story of the stele inscription portrays Wen Qiong as a descendent of Zhang Wang 張望, a candidate of the Mingjing 明經 examination, who once prayed with his wife named Zhang Daohui 張道輝 to the Lord on High for offspring before Wen Qiong was born. After dreaming of a god who claimed to be the essence of great fire descending from the Celestial Gate, holding a fire pearl, Zhang woke up pregnant. Wen Qiong was born on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month in 702, with twenty-four thunderclap seal characters under his left armpit and twelve under the right. He began to learn the Yu steps 禹步 at age seven and had gone through the Classics of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism by age fourteen. However, he failed the highest imperial examination, and then swore to become a god of Mt. Tai, eliminating all evil forces under heaven. He also made thirty-six divine talismans and passed them on to people, urging: "Those who hold these are able to manage all demons and gods on earth", and then died

²⁷² *Liu Ji ji* (Zhejiang, 1999), pp.213-14

²⁷³ Chen Zhenjin, *Song Lian zhuanjiwen yanjiu* (Taiwan, 2006), p.60

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.117

immediately. Later, When the Heavenly Master Ye of the Shu used these talismans to ward off plagues, he witnessed as if Wen was holding a sword, chasing the wind to descend.²⁷⁵

The observation of individual orientations having largely shaped the character of Marshal Wen thus echoed Katz's previous study of participation of different groups of people in the varying representations of Marshal Wen. Wen's life track, as we may see, bears an uncanny resemblance to that of Song Lian before he accepted official position in the early Ming court. The personal information of Song Lian has allowed extended insights into judging the role of the religious body in political environment that Song Lian embodied his individual experience in a religious figure—Marshal Wen—and endowed him with new interpretations of being determined to serve the emperor and people when alive and to assist the Eastern Peak Emperor to eliminate demons after death.

The above selective reading of the hagiographic accounts of Daoist warrior gods opens a different access to observe the historical shift of related Daoist traditions, the most significant of which was a decrease of the purity of the orthodox system and a corresponding increase in the openness of Daoism towards local cults. Finally, the anxiety of the invisible blends with mental inclination of violence among the masses, driving up the process to provide an emotional outlet and a spiritual haven during dynastic turmoil especially attendant on warfare.

²⁷⁵ Song Lian, "Wen zhongjing wang miaobei", *Wenzhou lidai beike ji* (Shanghai, 2002), Jin Bodong ed., pp.60-61

Appendix

Hagiography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of the Earthly Spirits

A native of Pingyang county of Wenzhou, Taibao's surname was Wen, his personal name Qiong, his style name Ziyu, and his milk name Zhuolang. His mother, whose surname was Zhang, dreamed of a sun in the south as big as a chariot, sounding like thunder. When she awoke, she was pregnant and then gave birth to Taibao. He grew to be three meters tall, a brave and strong-willed man.

During the Tang dynasty, rebels arose in swarms. Taibao joined Guo Ziyi's army and went into battle on the front lines, but never once was Taibao wounded. Ziyi once had a dream of a dark fog in the frontline. He enquired about the situation there immediately upon waking up. The Army Supervisor replied that last night, Commandant Wen Qiong had been drunk and breathed wine fumes like a dark fog. Thereupon, Ziyi named Qiong Reserve Military Officer. During a battle with a group of rebels, the rebels saw a dark fog surging from the [Ziyi's] army, forming a dragon or a snake. Terrified, they fled. Qiong requested a group of a thousand soldiers to chase the rebels. They slew several thousands of them while Qiong did not lose a single soldier. Soon thereafter, Qiong was promoted to the position of Military Inspectorate. Once Ziyi spent the night with Wen Qiong and had another dream in which Wen became a black snake with a horn on the head. He then understood that Qiong was an unusual person. But in the end Ziyi felt him to be a threat and sought to kill him. Qiong became aware of his scheme and fled to Mt. Dai [Tai], where he made a living as a butcher and wine monger.

One day, The Lord Bingling transformed into a Daoist and told Qiong that his bones and energy had the potential to communicate with gods, and he would one day receive long-lasting worship. How could he be as offensive as a butcher, in violation of the Celestial Regulations? Qiong said: "If that is so, then I should retreat to the mountains to practice the Way and someone would then perhaps initiate me as an immortal." The Daoist said. "You do not have the bones of an immortal. How could you forcibly practice?" Qiong wished to question him further, but Bingling disappeared, and he could not find him. Qiong valued what he had learned and stopped killing. For three years he came and went in the Eastern Peak Temple, serving as a fund-raiser

and worshiping assiduously every day. Suddenly one day on top of the mountain he encountered a Daoist dressed in yellow and with hair in disorder who bowed and said to him: "The Eastern Peak Emperor has reported your name on high. When you die, you will become a taibao of the Eastern Peak Temple. You should make a statue of yourself in the front hall and so take up your post when you die. Qiong followed his instructions, and from then on the taibao went to visit him. One day, a Taibao in the hall whose name was Guan Qiuxiu told him that once his statue changed he would instantly transform and take up his position. Qiong thus went to check the statue every day. A youngster named Meng Yun laughed at him and said: "Do you come to check every day because you're afraid someone will steal the statue?" Qiong replied: "General Guan told me that when the statue changed, I would become a god. When that happens, you will become my soldier. Thereafter, Meng Yun and Wei Yan painted the statue green and put two boar tusks in the mouth. One day, when he came to burn incense, Qiong saw the statue had changed. Quickly he changed into a green robe and turban and put on hemp shoes. Taking with him only the iron cudgel head which he had formerly used to kill cows, he went to the temple and instantly transformed. When Meng and Wei came to see, they were about to salute him when they too transformed. When on the fifth day of the fifth month a decree arrived, his flesh body had not fallen over nor changed even slightly, and he was enfeoffed by decree as the Grand General who Manifests Virtue.

Villagers wanted to build Qiong a temple but he informed Yao Zizheng, the village head: "I receive the mandate from the Eastern Peak Emperor to perform exploits by eliminating great harms of the world and supporting the orthodox way. How could I forget the merits of the Emperor on High who values life and approach blood offerings and refuse to give benevolence? The acceptance of the imperial enfeoffment is virtually a burden of my merits. Should you build up temples, I will burn them down." Zizheng thus stopped the plan. The next year, he also took up the position of taibao in the Eastern Peak Temple. One day, the Lord Bingling reported to the Eastern Peak Emperor that Wen Qiong deserved rewards since he became the taibao. The Emperor asked for the reasons. He said: "first, he refused the temple offerings from the populace; second, he did not consider the imperial enfeoffment as an honor; third, he conducted no misdeeds according to my record; therefore he was qualified to be appointed to important offices."

The Emperor thus promised to install Wen as Underworld Authority in the Court of the Earth, in charge of the living and the dead.

In the second year of Song Taizu, a serious drought occurred in Wenzhou. A certain Wu Sijing went to the Eastern Peak Temple to pray. That night, a banner appeared above the clouds with Wen Qiong's name on it. Suddenly wind and rain came and the drought ended. Wu was planning to build a temple for Wen Qiong when a commoner called Wang Jiu'er was possessed and spoke in Wen's voice: "I swore to succor the people uprightly and was finally accepted by a lineage master as a clerk. So I do not attach importance to the temple offering and imperial enfeoffment. If you insist to reward my merits, please report it to the Dark Emperor instead of to the court, then I shall receive respect from all deities." Following his words, the people held a jiao and sent a memorial to the Dark Emperor, reporting Ziyu's contribution. When Master Xu-jing succeeded to the position of Heavenly Master, there were two deities called Xu Wen and Hao Bian who promoted the Teaching of Three Altars and of whom the other deities with imperial enfeoffment were afraid. Although the teaching was not yet widely popular, Qiong was angry with it. Yet, without permission from the superior, he dared not to suppress it on his own.

During the Xuanhe reign era (1119-1125), Xu-jing traveled to the Eastern Peak and Lord Bingling gave him a warm welcome. Xu-jing enquired of the Eastern Peak Emperor as he arrived at the Temple: "among all deities of the Eastern Peak Temple, who is the most outstanding?" The Emperor said: "According to the report from the current imperial sacrifice, Wen Qiong could be the one." Xu-jing said: "I recently examined the divine officials in my record and found that the one named Wen Qiong refused blood offering, called in rain in Wenzhou, was not proud of imperial enfeoffment, but aimed to support the teachings. I am coming particularly for this. Could it be this one?" The Emperor said: "yes." He then summoned Wen Qiong who repeatedly saluted in front of the Emperor, saying: "I have been at the post all year long and had no chance to see the face of the Emperor. Today I felt great honor to be summoned here at the steps in front of the palace." Xu-jing asked: "is this Wen Qiong?" The Emperor answered: "yes." Xu-jing said to Wen: "before, people of Wenzhou reported you to the heavenly court, presenting your merits in saving them from the drought, not valuing the imperial enfeoffment, and insisting to support the orthodox way and the Heavenly Masters. Now I came to request the Emperor to let you take

charge of the earthly spirits as well as the rites and incantations.” He continued to explain to Qiong: “you transformed at the *yin* time on the fifteenth day of the third lunar month, which is the time when wood is old and fire new. Wood gives birth to fire, which is dominant in Bingding (the south). Demons are the most intelligent of all-creatures, so this seal with your true form will be sufficient.” Xujing thus formed the seal of four characters meaning of Bing and Ding give birth to a *gui* (Bingding sheng gui) to match the time so as to make it a real seal character. Then, he drew several other seal with cloud characters. The rites of Bureau of Earthly Spirits thus originated from this. The hierarch Xujing claimed: “the god of the Earthly Spirits, under the command of Jade Purity, is the Lingbao Attending Escort. That is why the *Duren jing* also includes these attending terms.” He also told his disciples that among the spirits of the Board of Justice, Wen Qiong is second to none.

One day, when Xujing reached Mt. Qingcheng of Sichuan, he was about to enter a big cave at the back of the mountain, regarding it as a place of immortals. He hardly realized that inside were the remnants of an overthrown gang of demons once suppressed by the Heavenly Master at the beginning of the Han dynasty. They had regrouped and built themselves a temple in the cave, sometimes spreading pestilence to harm while sometimes demanding blood offerings by making thunderclaps and violent wind. The title bestowed by the imperial government was Temple of Manifesting Benefit and the deity’s name the Lingyou puli guangde boji wang, locally called the Kind and Beneficial Emperor. The people of Sichuan all came to worship him. Xujing had no idea where the demons dwelt, but they were already informed of his arrival, ready to attack to avenge their dead partisans. As soon as Xujing entered together with thirty disciples, unusual winds arose and the surroundings became too dark to see. Suddenly Xujing saw a person of green face and black robe, dressing in armor and holding beetles, running ahead with a black banner on a black horse, and the weather instantly cleared again. Xujing stepped into the temple, only to find it reduced to a pile of ashes and all the demons dead. Suddenly the unusual winds arose again, he was about to grind his teeth when the green-faced one alighted from his horse and bowed to him, saying: “I am Wen Qiong here to assist you to destroy the thousands of demons that harm people and ghosts that disturb the teaching. Now the Emperor Cili has been captured, waiting for judgment.” Xujing said: “those who intend to harass the teaching and the people should be punished to death, let alone lead groups of demons to fight. The Emperor Cili should

be executed by the harsh laws of Fengdu according to the Dark Statute.” Wen Qiong received the order and had all the demons beheaded on the mountain to the left of the Qinghua Temple. Once done, the water was exhausted and the grass withered; the blood saturated the stones red and the color remains to the present.

Xujing presented a memorial to request a title for Qiong as the Great Messenger and Grand Guardian of Supporting the Rites, Assisting Efficacy and Illumining the Martial, governing the three thousand Chilly and Dark Cavalry of Fengdu. Among those who govern the three thousand soldiers, there were two called Xue Zhen and Xu Bian, who challenged [Wen] Qiong: “your previous existence was a brave man, but we are the valiant generals of the nether world. When we send out weal or woe, crows are flying everywhere; lightly evil accidents emerge while serious murdering occurs here and there. As we wander around under the heaven, no one dares to offend us, while deities on the Register of Sacrifice also greet and see us off with respect. If you want to restrain us, you must have obtained stronger power than us.” Qiong responded: “let’s have a duel at the Western City of Mt. Tai.” Xue and Xu then deployed their troops. Qiong mounted a black horse, rushing straight towards their camp, while they stood in front of their troops, ordering ten thousand arrows to shoot and spears to rise at once. Suddenly shouting out in high voice, Qiong transformed into a black snake a thousand meters long, and bound Xue and Xu with its tail so that they could no longer change shapes. The rest of the troops all ran away but were prevented by the fire arising on all sides. The soldiers bowed down and cried to the general for pardoning, promising to be sublimated and never violate his command. The black snake opened its mouth to talk: “I received the order from the Eastern Peak Emperor to govern you for the purpose of protecting the Gate of Rites for the Heavenly Masters under the heaven and of saving the masses from inferior spirits. I have been listening to the scripture and decree [from the Eastern Peak Emperor], and sublimated to obtain divine power. Should you resist against the heart of being integrity, I would have eaten you all, but for the sake of the Ancestral Master’s desire to spare lives, I now forgive you.” Xue and Xu bowed down before him and paid their allegiance as his subordinates.

During the reign of Zhenzong, a Daoist called Wang Zongjing travelled to Mt. Qingcheng to visit Xujiing. Xujiing asked: "what is your purpose of travelling through mountains?" Zongjing answered: "to learn rites from masters so as to save the living and eliminate demons." Xujiing said: "I am the previous Zhang Xujiing; have you ever heard of me?" Zongjing answered: "I have been searching for you, Master, for ten years and didn't have any chance to meet you until today. Please receive my homage again. I would like to receive the Secret Rites [from you]." Thereupon, Xujiing taught him the Secret Rites of the Earthly Spirit Taibao Wen. Concentrated on worshiping and practicing the Rites of the Dark Emperor, Zongjing established merits by performing a good number of miracles. When saving the people at the Luoshui of Hengmen, he had only to recite the incantation of the Great yin transforms to life (Taiyin huasheng) with the talisman of *bing* and *ding* give birth to a demon, together with the Seal of the Exorcistic Department. Because his rites never failed to be efficacious, thousands of people who lived beside lakes and rivers came to request water from him every day. One night he was about to rest when he heard a human voice: "may the Perfect Official come out of the room?" Here is something to report to you. Zongjing went out to see Qiong dismount from a horse and bow down to approach. Zongjing thus invited the Taibao to be seated inside the Altar of Rites. Qiong said: "Before, the Heavenly Master Xujiing sent me to assist you to worship the Dark Emperor and save the people from disasters. Now, you, the Perfect Official, have gained enough merits and the Dark Emperor has signed your name on the Record of Immortals as the Powerful Official in charge of the worshippers in the Qin territory under the command of the Dark Emperor. Besides, I received the permission from the Dark Emperor to return to the Eastern Peak Temple. Since the Heavenly Master Xujiing has had contributions in transmitting [the rites to you], he has been promoted to the position of the Perfect Lord. [Now] I come to inform you that my picture should not be left in the secular world lest the people build temples for me, which would reduce my merits." According to his instructions, Zongjing transmitted the seal and the picture of the Dark Emperor to Wu Daoxian. In addition, he used the Dragon and Tiger Register to make a list of the daily-used inventories, one hundred and ninety-seven of which were passed around in the secular world. Hence, only Wu Daoxian was the one who received the orthodoxy teaching. Zongjing repeated to Daoxian: "you could now go to Fujian, a place of evil spirits and demons who do not follow orthodoxy."

When Daoxian arrived in Fujian, there was a god of sorcery and the cultivation of golden caterpillars named Kālayakṣa (King Jialuo) worshipped by the Min residents. Many people there raised golden caterpillars to collect souls to enslave them. Travelers and merchants were often inflicted. The evil spirits were informed of the arrival of the master, telling one another: "since we depend primarily on Buddhism, once he approaches we should kill him. Never allow him to stay here; otherwise we will be left no living space." Daoxian brought the talismanic water to Quanzhou and it was efficacious. However, the heterodox worshippers of Buddhism were too prevalent and strong to leave any space for the orthodox way. Daoxian took out a mirror and recited the Bingding incantations to deploy energies inside. Having been practiced for nine years, the mirror became able to communicate with gods. Qiong then appeared, constantly coming in and out of the mirror. Yet [he] kept practicing and did not give out retribution. [Daoxian] thus added the Tianpeng incantations. Daoxian said: "to recite these incantations, power and efficacy will be reinforced. [I] practice this mirror in order to hold the strength of the incantations." [Having been practiced for] another three years, the mirror was getting much more miraculous. Wherever it was placed, white energies were spurting out of it. One day, Taibao ran out of the mirror and said to Daoxian: "you are the orthodox heir of the Master [Zongjing], bearing the Teaching of the Heavenly Master; and your current residence has few devotees. There is a mountain named after Sengjia in the Min County, where Sizhou was established; to the left of the mountain, there is a Golden Light Cave occupied by a temple god called King Jialou. You could go there and expel him." Daoxian went there according to his words, and found the temple to be luxuriously decorated, with tens of thousands of devotees coming to recite the *Vajracchedika-sutra*. The face of the god was like that of any other ordinary gods. The total number of his concubines and princes in the rear palace was over three hundred while another twelve Prime Ministers were in the left hall, fifty seven Great Guardians were in the right hall, as well as many other followers such as the Wuchang of the Bureau of Exorcism. [Daoxian] looked around and was so frightened that he dared not act. He stepped out of the temple to ascend the left side of the mountain, where there was a pavilion called Altar of Arhat Practicing the Way. Hearing no human voice around, he ground his teeth while facing east so as to secretly report to the Eastern Peak Emperor; then took out and shouted at the mirror: "I am here, quickly respond!" All of a sudden Taibao rushed out of the mirror with a big mace, followed by a thunderbolt, wind and rain. The

mountains on all sides turned dark and, in a thunderclap, fire came out of the temple and burned the mountains. After a short while, the weather cleared up. King Jialou had been burned to ashes except for a pillar of his temple on which it read: "Wen Qiong, complying with Heaven and supporting the rites, eliminated demons under orders." Daoxian remained in shock until Taibao approached to tell him that he originally did not have the ability to conquer this evil until Daoxian sublimated the mirror with the Tianpeng incantation. Since now he had acquired the Six Powers, he promised to protect the masses so as to requite Daoxian. Moreover, he told Daoxian not to stay in Fujian but to move to Sichuan where he would transcend in a Bingwu year. Although the people here are all against the Dao and devoted to Buddhism, which is unacceptable to the Heavenly Way, the Most High (Laozi) decided to retain it since the Buddha had once taught people to do good. Hence they left for Sichuan. They reached Mt. Qingcheng in Western Shu within a moment. Taibao gave Daoxian a hundred *liang* of gold and told him to spread the divine water there. After Daoxian entered the city, he decided to report Wen Qiong's assistance to the Lord Bingling. Within seven days the memorial reached the Eastern Peak Emperor, who appreciated Wen Qiong's contribution to saving the masses and supporting the orthodox way. He thus appointed him to be the Military Inspector of the Four Seas and Nine Islands, meanwhile retaining his previous position as Underworld Authority in the Court of the Earth, in charge of the living and the dead.

Having acquired the power of the Tianpeng incantations practiced by Daoxian, Taibao became so proficient in the Six Communications that he was able to move around between heaven and earth freely. Deities of the Upper, Middle, and Low worlds all venerated him and dared not to offend him. Among the five hundred and thirty-two disciples of Daoxian, only a hundred had miraculous results; another hundred did not have their behavior and mind in accordance; more than two hundred had been attacked to death by Taibao due to their ignorance and violation of the Celestial Regulations; fifty three were promoted to be the Powerful Officials in the Yousheng Bureau of the Dark Capital and another fifty three also obtained the position as Powerful Officials in the Yousheng Prefecture.

Afterwards, texts of Taibao and the ten Earthly Spirits spread throughout the world, and many people used their rites. However, the Rites of Earthly Spirit was considered to be an infe-

rior degree of the orthodox rite and the earthly spirits were deities of the human world. People invariably practiced it together with other rites, with the result that they were inefficacious. Taibao once said to Tiesheng at Mt. Tai: "I am anxious to support the lineage teaching. Though the current practitioners are numerous, few of them have immortal bones. How poisonous the world is!" Taibao concentrated on assisting the orthodox Way, hoping to spread its soft breeze abroad, whereas the demonic Saṅgha Teaching of the Three Altars was shielded and sustained by Xu Wen and Hao Bian at the same time. They were also adherents to the Diamond Dhyāna and this evilwind was very prevalent. Even though the state had strictly banned it, the demonic teaching never obeyed the rule. Shouhuang [Xiaozong (r.1163-1189)]²⁷⁶ loathed it and ordered the Perfected Du to perform a great ritual of merit to send flying memorials to the three heavens, hoping to eliminate it forever. Hence, the Eastern Peak Emperor summoned the Lord Bingling, saying: "due to the prevailing of the demonic Way, people all follow the Buddhist teaching and the world is suffering. The emperor of the state has stood it for a long time. Now you can quickly go and eliminate it under the order of the Emperor on High." The Lord Bingling thus gathered the troops of the five marchmounts, preparing for a battle under heaven. Yet, performing evil forces, the two demons with millions of followers prevented the troops by means of the Five Manifestations and Dongting marvels. Since the Epidemic Department dared not to capture them, the Emperors of the Five Peaks met at the Celestial Treasure Cave to discuss solutions. The Lord Bingling said: "this job could only be accomplished by the Inspector Wen Qiong. Since he has been assisting Liu Boqi²⁷⁷ in Qingzhou to benefit the society, Zhang Xun could be sent to summon him in order to fight the demons." The Western Peak Emperor said: "how could Wen achieve this since all members of the marchmounts failed to conquer them?" Bingling said: "once there was an earthly immortal called Wu Daoxian who recited the Tianpeng incantations for many years, sublimating Qiong inside a mirror. Qiong thus has gained the Six Powers, now in charge of the affairs of life and death. Sixty junior adjudicators have been assigned to administrate the world. The rites practiced by the Gentleman Liu ranks the first, protected by Wen Qiong." All the Peak Emperors were surprised to hear that. The Eastern Peak Emperor thus sent

²⁷⁶ 宋史本纪第三十五孝宗三：辛未，上尊号曰至尊寿皇圣帝

²⁷⁷ See: Huang Gongjin, *Epilogue of the Preface of Earthly Spirits* 地祇緒餘論: the Rites of Earthly Spirits began with the Heavenly Master Xujing, passed in sequence to Wang Zongjing, Wu Daoxian, Liu Boqi, and Zhong Ming, and spread to the places of Zhe, Min, Shu, Hu, and Guang.

a flying talisman to summon Wen Qiong. As soon as he returned, he reported to the Eastern Peak Emperor, saying: "Xu Wen and Hao Bian were once frightened upon hearing my name. If I set out to suppress them, they will surely run away. There is a certain Zhang Quji who was a good spy. I hereby request to have him accompany me. A triumph is then expected." Having received the permission of the Emperor, after Qiong declared orders and set the rules for reward and punishment, he set out with his army towards the west. When he was east nineteen thousand *li* east to Mt. Yeni, the two demons were informed of their march and said to each other: "today Wen Qiong of the Eastern Peak arrives. His power is too overwhelming to be defended." They thus dismissed their troops and hid themselves in a vast cave. Quji went ahead and transformed into a three-year old child, dragging a silk ball to illuminate the cave. Inside the ball there were another two three-year old children playing. Xu and Hao also transformed into children and entered the ball, while Quji held it tightly unexpectedly, leaving no chance to escape. After a good while, Qiong and his army arrived. The Western Mt. Yeni shook and the water sounded like drumming. Xu and Hao surrendered. Qiong ate his associate demon King and eliminated thirty-six thousands Buddhist monks. Upon his arrival at Mt. Tai to report to the Eastern Peak Emperor, he was assigned the position as the Superintendent of all divine temples under heaven with the title of the Mighty Strong Taibao of Supporting the Rites, Assisting the Efficacious, and Summoning Military Power.

The Perfected Du reported to Shouhuang: "the demonic wind under heaven has now been eradicated and full credit should go to Wen Qiong." The Emperor asked: "has he ever received any enfeoffment?" Du answered: "he was once conferred a title of King but refused to accept; then temple offerings and official enfeoffment but he refused to comply. He could be regarded as the Chief General of the Eastern Peak and the Mighty God of the land. He was truly upright and selfless, and obtained abundant divine power." Therefore, under imperial order, Du sent memorials to the three heavens. That night, the Emperor asked: "Have the memorials reached the heavens?" Du answered: "when it reached the Judge of Shengmeng shi, he said: 'how dare the god of human world bother the Supreme Lord with such minor merits? I am about to send you to the Powerful Officials of the Left Department for condemnation but since you have been obeying the Statute for seven generations, I forgive you once. However, the name of Wen Qiong would be made known among all city gods. Because of his integrity and receiving of the orthodox rites

from the master, he could be called by the ad hoc name Superior General of the Earthly Spirit and Orthodox God under Heaven, governing all the earthly spirits and Superintendent of all temples.” Thereafter Taibao became more awe-inspiring, and the entire court respected him.

A certain Perfected Zhong in Guozhou²⁷⁸ intelligently practiced the Earthly Spirit Rites with great efficacy. A Gentleman for Closing Court named Wang Qingru who lived in Chenzhou²⁷⁹ was assigned to be the magistrate of Guozhou. One day as he passed by the old Chenxi Temple, he saw the right side of the gate was marked with two characters: Epidemic Department. Forgetting all about himself, he continued to stare at it, then ascended the stairs, lifted the curtain, and entered. Suddenly a man approached him and bowed to him: “the King ordered me to invite you, the Pacification Commissioner, to meet.” Qingru was surprised, asking: “who is the King?” The man answered: “it is the King Kang, supposed to be canonized as the Awesomely Helpful Good and Beneficial, Efficacious Responsive Heroic Martyr King.” Qingru could not decline the urgent invitation and followed him to a hall. Once again the decree of the King was delivered: “please enter.” [Inside,] King Kang greeted him and offered him a seat. The King said to him: “I, [Ying], am, on the orders of the City God, in charge of the Epidemic Department to inspect the good and evil deeds in the world. It’s very lucky to meet you today and I have one thing to bother you, hoping you allow [me to do so].” Qingru said: “the King, please go ahead.” The King said: “the year before I received an order from the Supervisor-in-chief of city gods to spread plague in Guozhou, there was a Perfected Zhong who has worshipped the Dark Emperor since youth and had been granted by the Dark Emperor the Inspector Seal of the Supervisor-in-chief of city gods. He is now under the command of the Eastern Peak Emperor and assisted by the Inspector Wen Qiong. Yet the people of Guozhou have committed too many evil deeds and many have fallen ill. They are fierce and malicious, going against my instruction. Upon my arrival in Guozhou, I destroyed thousands of the people who worshipped Buddhism and aimed at wiping out plague. Wherever I spread the plague, the Perfected Zhong would take it back with his talisman. More importantly, the Perfected thought my purpose in spreading plague was to demand sacrifices, so he captured five thousand of my soldiers. He even wanted to capture me and send me to the Celestial Peak. I hoped that on the day you are authorized with the military seal of

²⁷⁸ modern Nanchong 南充 of Sichuan

²⁷⁹ In modern Western Hunan 湘西

Guozhou from the Attendants of Cavalry, I and my soldiers would be saved, and this would be counted among your hidden merits." Qingru said: "I accept the King's request, yet the only thing I doubt is why the King could destroy the worshippers of the Buddhist Teaching of Three Altars but could not defeat the Perfected Zhong." The King told him: "the Perfected has three omnipotent things: first, his name has been recorded in the Yousheng Department [Thunder Sect]; second, he is able to communicate with gods through sublimating a mirror; and third, the Inspector Wen of the Eastern Peak is under his command and therefore all the divine temples dare not violate him. Besides, there is a saying in the divine world: it is easy to capture the Buddha of the western heaven but difficult to defend against the Inspector Wen." Qingru asked: "how has this situation come to pass?" The King continued: "it is because of the Perfected Wu's sublimation of his mirror by the Tianpeng incantations a hundred million times so that Taibao gained the Six Powers and became unrivaled." Qingru bade farewell after King Kang presented him five hundred ounces of gold as a gift. He had been missing for three days when he arrived home. After receiving the token of Guozhou, he asked a secretary: "where is the residence of the Perfected Zhong." The secretary answered: "he lives in the north of the city." The next day, Qingru visited the place and told everything he heard about previously. The Perfected gently said to the judge [Qingru]: "the demon [the King Kang] spread poison here last year. If it was not because of my interference, two-thirds of the residents in Guozhou would have died already." Qingru thereby begged him for pardon. The Perfected Zhong continued to say: "the King Kang was once supposed to be another Taibao at the Eastern Peak and the sixth general of the ten earthly spirits as appointed by the Heavenly Master Xujing, but he was unjust in managing the plague. I thus insisted Kang Ying be captured and already had Wen Qiong finish the job not long ago. However, I would pardon him due to your request, but all of his soldiers are to be sent to Inspector Wen for punishment by a hundred strokes before releasing them." Later on, Wang Qingru sent a memorial to the court to report Zhong's contribution. Zhong was thus conferred the title of Perfected of Power and Benefaction while the Inspector Wen received one catty of gold coins and incense since he refused official enfeoffment. Regarding many other miracles of Wen, there are examples such as eliminating the Wuxian in Chizhou,²⁸⁰ defeating the King of Guache in Anqing, killing the Little Official of Communicating the Saint, chasing out Liu Xiaoyi at Dongting, destroy-

²⁸⁰ In modern Anhui.

ing the Hanyang Temple of Hongshan burning down the temples of Epidemic Department and cattle market. During his inspection, he was ever responsive to prayers. There are too many other marvels to be enumerated. Later generations will certainly collect and record them.

地祇上將溫太保傳

太保姓溫，名瓊，字子玉，乳名卓郎，溫州平陽縣人。母夫人張氏，嘗夢南方日輪大如車，其聲如雷，寤而有娠，遂生太保。身長九尺二寸，長大有志，武勇敢爲。

時唐朝群盜蜂起，隨汾陽郭子儀出戰，身爲先鋒，白刃未嘗傷體。子儀嘗夢前軍有黑霧，覺而問，軍中夜來前軍有甚事。監軍曰：夜來只有校尉溫瓊大醉，身中酒氣有如黑霧。子儀即拜瓊爲帳前準備將。一日子儀與賊封壘，賊見軍中有黑霧衝衝，狀成龍蛇，群盜驚走。瓊請步卒一千人追之，殺賊數千餘人，而瓊兵不失一卒。未幾拜瓊爲帳前都檢點。子儀嘗與同宿，又夢其變黑蛇而生一角，知其爲異人也。然終疑其爲患，欲殺之。瓊覺其意，遂逃歸岱山下，屠牛賣酒。

一日炳靈公化爲道人語瓊曰：觀子之相，骨氣通神，他日必有香火萬世，豈可冒法宰牛，深犯天律。瓊曰：如此則我不若歸山修道，恐有人度我成仙。道人曰：君無仙骨，豈可強修。瓊欲再問，不知所在，而失去矣。瓊奇之，自是不殺，只出入東嶽廟爲化主，打供精進三年。忽一日，岳峰遇黃衣蓬頭道者，長揖瓊曰：今日嶽帝書上汝名，若天年終，則爲嶽府太保。汝可立像於殿前，身後當任其職。瓊如其言，立像于嶽府。自此諸太保時複來訪瓊。一日殿前太保灌丘休語瓊曰：汝像若變，則歸職矣。瓊日至像前觀之。有少年孟雲笑之曰：汝日日來觀此像，恐人盜去乎？瓊曰：灌將軍報我，像變則爲神。我若爲神，汝亦爲我卒矣。其後，孟雲同韋彥以青色塗其像，口裝二豬牙。一日溫瓊來燒香，只見其像已變，即更青衣，青巾，麻鞋，唯有平時殺牛鐵棒頭持至殿下，遂立化矣。孟韋來觀，方欲頂禮，亦皆立化。至五月初五日勅下，肉身不倒，亦不變動。勅封顯德大將軍。

市民欲立廟，村主姚子正亦欲立廟，瓊告子正曰：吾受命東嶽，正欲立大功勳，去世大害，扶持正道，安敢忘上帝好生之德，而遽欲血食，不施仁濟之心乎。苟受國封，實

爲我德之累。汝等若立廟，我焚之。子正乃止。明年，子正亦歸嶽府作太保。一日，炳靈公奏嶽帝曰：溫瓊自去年三月十五日歸充太保，有功可賞。帝曰：如何。公曰：不受民間廟食一也，不以國封爲榮二也，在我無纖毫過失三也，合受緊要職事。嶽帝遂詔爲地府冥司急取人案大典者。人之生死，皆由所掌。

至皇朝藝祖登極，次年，溫州大旱，有吳思敬者，詣嶽祠祈禱。是夕，有旗見雲端，上有溫瓊二字。雨迅風飛，民卒免旱。吳思敬欲祠之，有百姓王九二附體曰：吾誓在正直濟民，終有宗師收吾入道法會下爲吏，不以廟祀國封爲重。汝欲報吾功德，幸勿保奏朝廷，若能爲吾奏名于玄帝闕下，則天神地祇俱歸敬矣。於是眾從其言，設醮謝天，具奏玄帝，保明子玉功行。至嗣天師，虛靖先生。時有許溫、郝邊者，天下國封神祇皆畏之，興行三壇之教，雖未甚流行，而瓊甚怒之，不得上命，不敢誡伐。

宣和年間，虛靖游東嶽，炳靈公郊迎虛靖。至嶽府問帝曰：岳府諸神，誰冠群靈。帝曰：近王祀保明，溫瓊可任。虛靖曰：昨者，考校仙官過我籍中，有溫瓊者，不求血食，降雨溫州。不以國封爲榮，志欲扶持宗教爲先。虛靖之來正爲是爾，莫非此人乎。帝曰：是也。至是嶽帝召至，溫瓊面聖再拜，頓首，言曰：臣經年在職，無由面對天顏，今承呼召得至丹墀。虛靖曰：此溫瓊乎？帝曰：是也。虛靖曰：向者溫州百姓保奏汝於天廷，雲有救旱之功，不以廟食國封爲榮，而有歸依正道，扶持宗師之志。吾面對嶽帝爲汝作地祇一司，正法符篆咒訣。謂瓊曰：汝化於三月十五日寅時，此爲木老火初之節，故木生火，火旺于丙丁。鬼爲萬物之靈者，故只此篆爲汝真形足矣。虛靖作其符爲丙丁生鬼四字，以應其時，而成真篆。然後又以雲篆而書畫諸符，地祇一司之法蓋始於此。虛靖教主曰：地祇之神，奉命玉清，是謂靈寶侍衛送迎之官。故度人經中有勅制地祇，侍衛送迎之語。又謂弟子曰：法部至靈，無出溫瓊。

一日，虛靖入川至青城山，山背有大溪洞，虛靖以爲洞中必有仙境，欲入觀看，不知洞中乃漢祖天師滅伐魔鬼之所餘黨，結連萬眾，居此立廟，出入洞中，或行瘟疫時氣以害民，或飛霆烈風以求血食。國封曰：顯濟廟。神曰：靈佑普利廣德博濟王。民傳曰：慈利大帝。四川居民香火畢集。虛靖不知魔鬼所居，而其妖先知虛靖之來。遂領鬼眾欲害虛靖，以報祖天師舊日滅剪之讎。虛靖攜弟子三十人同進，只見怪風迅起，山色昏沈，黑暗

無路。虛靖驚怪，閑見一人青面皂袍，鐵甲持槌，有黑旗黑馬，飛走在前，以當其鋒，瞬息朗明。虛靜進觀，顯濟廟以成灰燼，洞中醜形皆死。須臾怪風又作，方欲叩齒，只見青面下馬躬身。至虛靖前曰：瓊在此爲天師法主，滅害人之魔，去亂教之鬼，共數千眾。今生捉到拒逆，侵凌天師五兵魔王慈利大帝，以聽法旨。虛靖曰：欲害嗣教人命者，當死，何況領眾魔來戰。當准豐都嚴刑，黑律處斬。於是溫瓊遵命，斬妖魔于青華觀左山。斬畢，但見水枯草死，血滴處石爲之透。至今此山有石如丹。

虛靖保奏瓊爲助法翊靈昭武大使太保，以豐都肅殺馬黑馬三千人付統領，以聽驅使。其三千兵首，則有正薛真、徐汴。薛、徐謂瓊曰：汝前身是人，強勇者，我乃冥司之猛將。遇降禍福，則旱鴉亂飛，輕則惡事橫生，重則滅門殺戮。遊行天下，無敢干犯者，祀典神祇亦皆迎送，汝欲節制我，須有神通出於吾之上者則可。瓊曰：我就岱山西城一戰。薛徐於是列兵前陳。瓊登黑馬，挺身直奔薛徐之營，薛徐開陳當前，萬箭俱發；群鎗兼舉，瓊只疾聲一呼變爲黑蛇，長千百丈，以尾束薛、徐二將，更不能變化。群卒皆奔，四圍火起，不得出圍，群呼拜將軍，叩首乞命，望赦其罪，甘伏節制，不敢違旨。其黑蛇發聲曰：吾受命東嶽，管掌汝等，爲天下嗣教宗師護持法門，救度眾生，甯解今日爲下鬼所苦耳。聞經聽旨，受其超煉，具足神通，汝等敢拒逆正直之心，本欲食汝等，但以祖師好生之心，故權恕汝。薛、徐俯伏，悉歸麾下。

真宗朝有道流王宗敬，至青城游天寶洞見虛靖。虛靖曰：汝之遊山爲何。宗敬答曰：投師學法，濟物祛妖。虛靖曰：吾即昔日張虛靖，汝曾聞名乎。宗敬曰：求師十年，不得一見，今日得見天師，再拜，願受秘法。於是分獨體地祇溫太保秘法一階付之。其宗敬專志一念，奉祀玄帝行法，立功於世，顯應甚多。其在衡門洛水濟人，但念太陰化生咒，及丙丁生鬼符，用驅邪院印一顆，無不感應。其潭湖江河之民，來求水者，日以數千計。一日宗敬夜臥，忽聞人聲雲：真官可出戶來，有事稟聞。及出乃見瓊下馬躬身而進。宗敬遂與太保坐法壇中。瓊曰：昨奉虛靖天師差瓊護持真官，修奉玄帝香火，濟民苦厄。今真官功德甚重，玄帝已書名仙籍，得爲玄帝闕下主掌秦境人民香火靈官，而瓊准玄帝牒回嶽府。而虛靖天師以爲傳人有功，位登真人。吾敬來告君，君即瓊之像毋留於世，若後人因而立廟，又累我德。宗敬如其言，遂授印與玄帝像與吳道顯。宗敬又以龍虎錄文，皆

列平日所用條式，一百九十七件流傳於世。故得其正傳者，吳道顯一人耳。宗敬又謂道顯，汝可過福建乃不奉正道妖邪魔鬼之所。

道顯至福建，路有金蠶蠱毒之神，名曰：伽羅王。閩人敬仰之，又人家多養金蠶。收人魂魄，役使工作，途中商旅受害。妖神聞宗師來，相與告曰：我等仗佛爲主，來則殺之，勿令居此，居此則無我也。道顯至泉州施符水有驗，然四方果妖道崇佛甚眾，奈所行正道不振，道顯以鏡一面，誦丙丁之咒，布氣鏡中，持煉九年，其鏡通神，瓊現身出入鏡中，而持煉不報，又加之天蓬咒。道顯曰：誦此咒以助威靈，煉此鏡願承此咒力。如此又三年，其鏡愈通神，置之之所，自有白氣衝衝。一日太保以鏡中奔出，語道顯曰：君受宗師正傳，承受天師流教。且君居此，少人皈崇香火。此有閩縣僧伽山，是泗洲所建之地。左山有金光洞，有一廟神曰：伽嘍王。君可親往伐之。道顯如其言，至廟見殿閣宏麗，四方誦金剛經來朝者萬數，其容貌如常神，後宮夫人及親王三百余位，左殿丞相十二員，右殿太尉五十七位，五猖瘟司等眾甚多。四顧觀望，心內驚怖，不敢作用。出廟登其左山，有亭曰：羅漢行道壇。四無人聲，遂東望叩齒，密奏嶽帝，取出所煉之鏡，叱雲：吾在此，汝急報應。太保忽自鏡中持大武槌先鋒而出，雷電風雨從後，四山皆黑，瞬息之間，霹靂一聲，廟中火發，四山皆焚。少頃，天氣朗清，則見伽嘍王已成灰矣，惟存一大柱不曾燒，大書其上雲：溫瓊順天助法，奉命剪域妖魔訖。道顯驚悚方省悟中，太保至前聲喏曰：瓊今滅邪訖，瓊本不能勝此邪，荷宗師修煉之功，得天蓬大咒之力，瓊受煉六通具足，無報宗師咒煉之功，誓立大願，自今日始，永爲嗣法之師，廣施大利，普濟世人。望君莫居於此，可入川中修煉。至真丙午，君當屍解矣。然此地眾生，皆背道向佛之人，天道惡之。幸隨瓊所請，道顯曰：佛非正道，而太保何不滅之。瓊曰：佛有大覺之功，一念眾生爲善。佛有蔽邪之罪，一本慈悲爲心。故太上留此教以化愚民。體真師順天之德，不忍滅之，故不能斷其教也。於是道顯坐太保之馬，瓊把節引導，駕黑雲而去。瞬息之間，已至西蜀青城山。太保又惠白金百兩，令入川，施符水。道顯入城都，營訖，思瓊有恩於我，我當保奏，於是奏嶽帝神炳靈公。七日之內，奏詞達帝。帝曰：瓊可謂舉世眾生蒙大利益，大振正道宗風。即下詔特拜爲四海都巡九州檢察使。依前助法，翊靈昭武大太保，掌地府冥司急取人案大典者。

太保自得道顯天蓬咒所煉之功，備足六通，能升天入地，上中下三界神祇並皆敬畏，不敢干犯。道顯所傳度弟子五百三十二人得其傳。而靈驗者百餘人，心與行違者百餘人，無應無聞犯天律而爲太保擊死者二百余人。修真奉聖，持煉修，崇香火，蒙太保奏嶽帝，得道成真，而歸玄都右勝院充典吏靈官者五十三人。合元和遷校府五百靈官中任職位，而升進右勝府靈官，亦五十三人。

自後太保及十地祇之書散流天下，崇其法甚多。而人人以爲地祇爲正法之下品，乃人間之神，奉法者必兼他司之法，自此而不聞應矣。且末學亦知其爲捷諸司，而不能專心敬崇者十有八九。太保在嶽府嘗謂鐵勝曰：吾欲立功護持宗教，奈今天下修法者甚多，而並無此仙骨，可謂惡毒之世矣。太保一念護持正道，期天和風流布，而許溫郝邊興妖教於世，助三壇僧伽之道，護持佛教金剛禪，其妖風甚盛，國立憲章以嚴禁制，奈聽魔教不能改過，壽皇惡之，命杜真人作大功德，飛奏三天，欲永杜絕。時東嶽帝君召炳靈公曰：以妖道興行，民遵釋教，世受其害。國主忍之，汝可遵上帝勅命，急爲斷絕。炳靈公即召合嶽將吏，出兵域伐，周滿八紘，其奈二妖運其邪力，或爲五顯靈通，或作洞庭怪異，黨從數萬。以部瘟司不敢攝捉，於是五嶽會于天寶洞天，會議此事。炳靈公奏曰：此非都巡溫瓊不可，今溫瓊在青州護佐柳伯期行持濟世。可權差張巡代行召往伐之。西嶽曰：嶽府群臣不能伏，豈可獨任溫瓊乎。炳靈曰：昔日有地仙吳道顯，持天蓬咒數年不止，煉瓊於鏡中，瓊受煉六通備足，掌生死案，任小判官六十員，分掌天下。柳君奉法，爲當今第一階，溫瓊所護也。諸岳帝莫不驚駭，嶽帝遂飛符召瓊，及至奏嶽帝曰：許溫、郝邊嘗聞臣名而畏，若領兵伐之，許、郝必逃遁。有張去疾能往聽察，願令與臣同往，乃可收功。帝從之。瓊宣號令，立賞罰。出師望西而進，東至耶尼山一萬九千里，二妖聞之，相與言曰：今岳府溫瓊來，威聲大振，不可當也。於是釋兵流散，許郝化爲二蛇藏於浩蕩穴內。去疾先往，化真形爲三歲孩兒，拖繡球，開發光明，其中二三歲小孩兒嬉戲。許郝亦化作小兒入球。遂爲去疾抱定，無由逃遁。良久，瓊兵大至，西耶尼山震動，浩蕩水吼，許郝伏罪。瓊食其亞副鬼王，剿絕佛釋僧伽三十六萬，凱還謝帝。即拜爲提點天下神廟仍前職真，賜助法羽靈昭武雄烈太保。

杜真人奏壽皇曰：天下妖風已滅，皆溫瓊之功。帝曰：曾有封乎。對曰：曾封王而不受，帝勸廟食不受，國封不從，可謂岳山上將，率土威神。正真無私，神通具足。杜真人於是恭奉聖旨，保奏三天，拜章之夕，帝問曰：章詞曾達天聽乎。對曰：至省蒙使相判雲，人間之神，絲毫之德，而敢幹瀆至尊，本欲送左司靈官擬罪，又念汝奉法七世，權赦一次。惟瓊之名，頒行天下城隍司照會，溫瓊正直，曾受宗師正法，可特稱地祇上將，天下正神，部轄群祇，提點宮廟。奏詞架閣，不敢謄錄。自此後太保威名震伏，群臣舉皆敬仰。

果州鐘真人明奉地祇之法，最有感應。有辰州寓居朝散郎王卿孺，除知果州。一日過辰溪古寺，見右廊門上書瘟司二字，卿孺忘形觀瞻，登殿揭簾而入，忽有一人，如世間院子之狀，進揖卿孺曰：大王有命，請安撫相見。卿孺大驚曰：王爲誰。曰：康王也，勸封威濟善利孚惠英烈王。告者力請，卿孺不能遜。遂行至一殿，又傳王旨雲：請安撫登殿。康王倪而揖，就座。王曰：應奉都大城隍委掌瘟司，檢察善惡。今宿緣會合，得遇安撫判官至此，應偶有事，幹瀆威嚴，幸望台慈，曲賜垂允。卿孺曰：大王有事見諭，可備委令者，幸望條示。王曰：昨奉大城隍司行下天下符牒委令於去年內果州行瘟。本州有鐘真人，自幼敬奉玄帝香火，蒙玄帝親授都大提舉城隍司印，仍下東嶽以溫都巡名瓊爲役使將。奈果州人民過惡甚多，而受病者眾。其民凶毒，不遵應之教化。然應初入果州，其地三壇洞王元皇洪山等徒，崇奉釋教，專事打瘟。一時爲應盡滅其黨千百人，果州之邪略盡。應初無鐘真人，應每行瘟，上奉天命，鐘真人符法所至，即爲收攝，未嘗敢違。而真人以爲應苟圖祭祀，布瘟果州，收禁應之從兵五千人，欲飛攝應赴天嶽。曲望台慈，遇騎從交割果州軍州牌印訖，日便爲解救，亦陰德也。卿孺曰：當領王命，所可疑者，王能滅三壇行佛法之人，卻不能殺鐘真人乎。王曰：真人有三事不可與爭衡，一姓名書於右勝府，二能煉鏡以通神，三有岳府溫都巡爲役使聽令將，天下神廟無敢犯者。況神市有諺曰：能捉西天釋迦佛，難當東嶽溫都巡。卿孺曰：不知何以如此。康王曰：昨吳真人煉鏡，誦天蓬咒萬萬遍，加持修煉，而太保承功德，備足六通，威靈無競。卿孺辭退。康王遺金五百兩以爲執贊之恭。卿孺到家，則其家已失卿孺三日矣。其後交割果州牌之後，即問孔目曰：此州鐘明真人住在何處。孔目對曰：鐘真人住在城北。次日，卿孺造其靖，宣

告前事。真人恭對判官雲：此鬼自去年流毒于此方，若非明所爲，公直果州之民，三分死亡二矣。卿孺懇請恕之。鐘真人曰：固當奉台命，但康應見在獄府充太保，當來虛靖天師亦收入地祇十將之第六人。而掌瘟不平，檢察太過，昨令溫瓊收下。今當以台旨恕之。所收康應吏卒，送溫都巡各杖一百放之。其後王卿孺保奏鐘真人，封爲威惠真人。朝廷以溫都巡不受國封，特賜金錢沈香一斤。至如滅池州五顯香火之根本，剿安慶掛車大王之吏兵，斬通聖小官人，逐洞庭劉小一，破洪山漢陽之廟，燒瘟司牛市之祠，專任都巡，報應甚亟，其他靈異，未易枚舉。後之人必能搜奇而記之廣。其不逮雲。

Addendum to the Hagiography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of the Earthly Spirits

General Wen was upright and loyal. Once he had become a god of the Eastern Peak, he worshiped the Dark Emperor assiduously and was greatly valued by the Eastern Peak Emperor. One day the North Emperor sent down thousands of poison pills to the Eastern Peak Emperor, ordering him to spread plague to those who were disloyal and unfilial; who killed livestock and damaged materials. The Eastern Peak Emperor received the decree and assigned the job to Wen Qiong, who got the poison and pondered carefully that one single pill could kill thousands of people. The death of the thousand people would have damaged thousands of families. And the weather would also spread the poison to cause disease which would involve countless innocent people. This is against the virtue of the Lord Lao in sparing lives. Why don't I substitute myself for the thousands of people? If measureless lives were saved, what regret will I have? Facing the north, he thereby swallowed all the poison. Instantly, he suffered from intolerable stomachache and fever. Burning incense to report to the Eastern Peak Emperor, he immediately transformed into a fierce demon and explained everything, waiting to be punished. When the North Emperor sent [the Dark Emperor] to inspect the task, the Eastern Peak Emperor had no idea but reported Wen's misconduct, descending to the Yousheng Yuan to supervise the punishment. The Dark Emperor, however, praised Wen Qiong's act and sent a memorial to his superior [the Emperor of the North] for a pardon. The North Emperor forgave Wen Qiong and ordered him to serve the Dark Emperor, in charge of subduing demons. After that, Wen Qiong became even more famous and awe-inspiring.

There was a certain One Cao Kefu, Administrator of the Yulong Palace who had been practicing the Rites of Earthly Spirit since youth, was begging for alms in Chiyang. There was a Wuxian Temple in Chizhou, which was said to be very efficacious and have a luxuriant palace. Once, the vice magistrate visited the temple with his concubine, who died immediately after they returned home. Before she was encoffined, the officials told him: the Daoist Cao who uses talismans in the market place is said to be very efficacious. Invited by the vice magistrate to practice the rites, Cao drew talismans and burned them by the side of the coffin. Instantly the cover of the coffin arose by itself, the dead body jumped out and made some noise, standing in front of Cao.

Cao said: this is the capture of the haunting spirit which possessed the body. No need to be frightened. Let me interrogate it. The spirit did not talk until several tortures: I am Huaguang, the fourth Buddha of the Five Kings Temple. When asked why it was seizing the soul, it answered: when the deceased entered the temple, she murmured to herself that in no way there was so gorgeous a person as this one in the world. I saw the growing of her improper thought and thus absorbed her soul. Cao demanded the soul be released. The spirit said: I will certainly not violate your order. But the best time [of releasing the soul] has already passed. The furious Cao declared to report to the High God to destroy its shape. The spirit said: I was formed by the essential energies of the Five Peaks and Four Rivers, incomparable to ordinary gods. The only thing you, the Judge, could do is to put an end to my cult in Chizhou. As soon as it stopped talking, the dead body returned to the coffin as before. Cao ordered the coffin to be sealed and then chose an auspicious day to report to the Emperor, who sent Qiong to destroy it. Cao asked the official to have all the clay statues to be destroyed on the drill ground. When destroying the fourth one, it was bleeding. [Huaguang's cult] thus was cut off in Chizhou and Cao became even more famous. He later on became the leader of the Yulong Palace, never allowing the rites to be practiced recklessly. Whenever he practiced the rites, they were inevitably working. The one who assisted him was General Wen.

In the county at the entrance of Shu, the deity there was very efficacious, had obtained several official enfeoffments, and excelled in bringing people fortune, whether good or bad. His bedchamber was profound and secret, and people were not allowed to barge in. If anyone entered, the deity would haunt him. There was a certain Zai, who had just arrived in the county to take up an official position. He suspected the deity very much and attributed disease within his family to the deity. One day, he went to the temple with a group of patrolling commandants and archers on the pretext of some other accidents. The soldiers rushed into the temple and saw a monkey of huge size which was too late to transform [into human]. Zai ordered the soldier to shoot it to death with arrows and then burned down the temple. After his three-year official service, Zai and his family returned to their hometown while on the way they rested in a hotel. Zai went to use the bathroom when he saw a group of people were receiving a deity with a large number of attendants of cavalry. The appearance of the deity was exactly like the monkey he had previously killed in the temple. The deity alighted from the sedan chair and spoke in human voice, ordering

his left and right followers to capture Zai and a demon to eat him. Yet, another person saved his life by saying to the deity: the King has no need to eat him but please go to his home in disguise and become the leader of his family. Hence the demon threw Zai into the air. When he fell on the ground, he found himself lost somewhere in an open land. After several days searching for direction, Zai finally got someone to ask and knew that he was away from home more than five thousand miles. Day and night he searched for the right road to home but in vain, only knowing the direction to Mt. Longhu in Xinzhou. He decided to go to Mt. Longhu for shelter from the Heavenly Master. Thanks to his devotional thought, Zai was protected by the True Spirit from deadly accidents. After marching for over four years, he eventually reached Xinzhou. Before entering the mountain, he met a Daoist bowing to him and said: I am the Master Xujing. Zai bowed down on his knees and was about to tell his bitter experience. Xujing stopped him and said: I already know. Do not bother to go the mountain. May I ask what could you do for livelihood? Zai answered: I could only do fortunetelling. Xujing thus gave him a mirror and a paper of order, with the former hanging against his heart the latter tied on his left arm. Then Xujing asked him to leave for home. Zai anxiously searched for the road. As if there was an invisible protection, he hurried home at the speed of a several hundred *li* per day. The next year he reached home as if led by someone. Keeping to Xujing's advice, he approached his house on the pretext of fortunetelling. The deity went out with the elders and the young, to watch him doing fortunetelling. During their conversation, suddenly the mirror started to move. Zai took the order to attack and General Wen jumped out of the mirror. Thunder and lightning arose while dark fog and wind sprang up. After quite a while, the weather became clear again. A huge gorilla and his two young offspring were dead in the front of the hall. The two were born of Zai's wife and concubine. It was a pity that the names could no longer be recalled.

In recent years, a certain Lu Yanghao arrived in Jiangxi and begged for alms in Linjiang. It was at that time when the Xiao family was seeking for healers by offering a reward. Yanghao conducted the interrogation and possession in front of the Huili Temple. Whenever a child was possessed, he jumped into the water and did not return. People were at once suspicious and believing [in the power of the god]. Yanghao thus had another one possessed who then held a sword of a ritual officer and jumped into the water. After a good while, the three children returned to the bank with a fish head which was exactly the haunting spirit of the Xiao's disease.

Thereafter the patient of the Xiao family recovered. Lu told the people: I could not be successful until Wen Qiong was sent out in the end. There was a certain Deng Du of the Hongyi Monastery who had a disciple named Zhong Yeyun. Once visiting the Huang Tongyue's in the Pucheng county of Jianning, they encountered Huang's younger daughter was having epilepsy. They interrogated [the girl] and discovered that once [Huang] was an official in Fujian, a shaman who was informally called Jianglang or Dai dapo caused troubles. He was imprisoned in a temple before someone broke it. He ran away and by force of evil gods he changed into a flying raven or a fierce tiger wandering around the temple, making terrifying sound. All sorts of rites are not able to subdue him except the Rites of Ten Earthly Spirits. In order to destroy his form, he was submerged into the right side of the river. From then on, it was well-known that the Supervisor of the earthly spirits, General Wen responded to this. This anecdote was recorded here to supplement the previous missing part.

溫太保傳補遺

溫將公忠正直，既爲嶽神，永護玄帝香火，嶽帝嘉之。一日北帝降下瘟藥千丸于東嶽，勅令遣使行瘟，檢察世，不忠不孝，殺生害命損物之人。嶽帝受詔，召瓊行瘟。瓊奉命領藥，再三以思。一丸之藥，殺及千人，千人之死，害及於千家。況氣候傳流，借毒行疾，又在此外餘殃及人，何可數計，甚失太上好生之德，不若我以一身以代千人，救得無限性命，又何所恨。乃仰天面北，一吞而盡。須臾腹痛身熱，不可支持，乃焚香直詣嶽帝前，變作一大猛鬼，奏聞其事，俯伏待罪。適北帝勅下催督檢察，嶽帝只得直述溫瓊不職之罪，奏聞北帝，遂下右勝院督過。玄帝嘉其用心，保明奏上，丐赦瓊之罪。北帝可其請就，勸令專奉玄帝命，令闡化誅魔，由是威名愈震。

又見玉隆知宮曹可複，自幼奉地祇秘法，嘗于池陽行化，州有五顯廟，靈異甚著，宮殿甚都。適有倅車交割以領之，初攜累謁廟，與帶側室同入殿觀看，暨歸悶絕，醫藥無所措，手足入棺，未殮。吏輩告雲：有曹道人在市行符法甚靈。倅令人召之。曹至，覽詞雲：惜過一日不能複生，惟恐要考究，是乃邪崇則可。倅許之。曹書符作法，焚於棺側。須臾之蓋板自起，其死屍自棺中躍出而立，聲略于曹之前。曹雲：此即攝到爲禍鬼崇，入附死屍。不須驚駭，待某訊問。再三刑考，方雲：我是本州五王廟，第四位花光藏菩薩。

複問因何魘奪陽人魂命。答曰：死者入廟觀看時，心中自謂，世間安得有一良人生得如此好。我見其妄念一興，是以攝其魂魄。曹令放還。神曰：法官命令固不當違，然已過息，了無如之何。曹怒，聲言欲奏上帝滅形。神曰：我是五嶽四瀆，山川秀氣結成，非他神比，法官但絕我池州香火而已。言訖，死屍入棺如故。曹令封殮，荀日奏帝，差瓊斬之。遂稟倅車，悉運泥像毀伐於教場中，惟斬至第四位果見血流。池州香火自此而絕。曹之聲名因此而振。其後領袖琳宮，法不肯妄行，行則必驗。扣之只溫將耳。

又蜀口有一縣，有神祠甚靈著，累經國封，能禍福人。而寢殿深秘，未嘗容人輒入，欲入者，神必崇之。宰初到官，心已怪疑，因後其眷聚嬰疾，咸歸咎於此神。一日佯以他事。檄巡尉領弓兵至廟，乃盛服藏祀，作文諭之。徹其寢門，帥眾排闥而入，見一猴甚巨，倉卒不能變化，宰叱弓兵射而斃之，遂焚其廟。宰終始三年，善解而去，攜累以歸。行至中途，少憩旅邸，因如廁，忽睹路上迎神騶，騎從者甚都。及見所迎之神，即向來射死廟中猴神相貌，其神下轎作人語，按劍而坐呼左右擒宰，叱一鬼使食啖之。宰就執傍有人爲解救曰：不須食啖，只請大王去他家做主。其鬼使遂，將宰拋棄於空中，忽失身於曠野，不知何地。尋路數日，方見有人，問之，則去家五千餘裏。日夕丐尋歸路，不得，惟探信州龍虎山。欲投天師。一念所至，真靈護之，得以不死。越四年余，方探到信州，未及入山，見一道人叩之，則曰：我是虛靖先生。宰叩頭下拜，纔欲陳訴，虛靖曰：我已知之，不煩到山。明公在路，有何生活可以度日。答曰：僅能課命。虛靖遂授一鏡一令，一鏡則令懸之於當心，令則令系之于左臂，教之使去。宰急尋路，如有陰護，日行百餘裏不倦。越僅年，忽然到鄉，如有人引領到家，及門一如虛靖之教，仍只以課命爲辭，神領長幼俱出觀其課算，神宰對語，忽然鏡動，以所授令，一擊只見溫將軍自鏡躍出，雷電交作，黑霧黑風，不可仰視。良久開霽，則擊死向來一巨猴，及二猴子於一廳前。宰具言其所以，而家人方能記憶。二猴子皆宰之妻妾所生，惜不能記其名姓也。

頃年，盧養浩來江西，至臨江軍行化，值蕭氏家患療，懸賞募人救療。養浩於慧力寺前考附。每附一童，躍入江月亭水中，不復上岸，眾皆疑信。養浩再附一人，遂持法官所執之劍，亦直躍入潭中。良久，三人扛至一點魚頭上岸，乃知正其爲祟蕭之疾，由是而愈。盧語人曰：未差溫瓊，方得捷疾。洪一庵行內台鄧都得名，擁其徒鐘野雲，到建寧

府，浦城縣牛田黃通鑰家，遇其小女患顛邪，驗之考附，因仕於閩，有邪名江郎、名戴大婆爲禍。置獄在寺，爲人賜破。其崇走逸，借援邪神，變爲飛鴉、猛虎圍繞寺外，唬吼鳴噪，諸法俱不能收伏，後用十地祇方悉擒捕。遂縛其崇，過湖右用沉沒法方滅其形。以是知地祇專司、溫將捷疾回應如此。姑摭見聞，以補前傳缺雲。

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